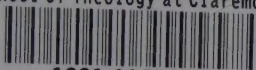


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GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:

EDITED, AFTER SPELMAN AND WILKINS,

BY

ARTHUR WEST HADDAN, B.D.

Honorary Canon of Worcester,

AND

WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.

Regius Professor of Modern History,

FORMERLY FELLOWS OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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VIII. CHURCH OF IRELAND; MEMORIALS OF S. PATRICK.

NOTICE.

FIVE years have now elapsed since Mr. ARTHUR HADDAN'S death, and the prospect of completing this portion of the work on the plan which he adopted, is as distant as ever. I have therefore recommended the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to issue the following sheets, which contain the matter introductory to the History of the Irish Church, and which constitute all the materials which had been prepared for publication when the work was broken off. The documentary remains of S. Patrick are, as it is believed, here given in their integrity; and no labour was spared in collating the MSS. which furnished the text.

WILLIAM STUBBS.

OXFORD,

April 3, 1878.

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COUNCILS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

VIII.
THE CHURCH OF IRELAND
FROM THE BEGINNING UNTIL THE ENGLISH CONQUEST,

A. D. 350 (?)—1175.

Period I.—*Before S. Patrick.* A.D. 350 (?)–440 (?).

Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cœlestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur. [PROSPER., *Chron. in an.* 431 (A.D. 455 × 463).]

Period II.—*S. Patrick, and the first Order of Irish Saints.* A.D. 440 (?)–543.

Quem Deus misit ut Paulum ad Gentes Apostolum. [S. SECUNDIN., *Hymn. in Laudem S. Patricii*, v. 27 (shortly before A.D. 448).]

Period III.—*S. Columba; Gildas; the Second Order of Irish Saints.*

A.D. 543–599.

Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet a Sancto David, a S. Gilda, et a S. [Ca]doco. [CATAL. ORD. SS. IN HIBERNIA (c. A.D. 750).]

Period IV.—*The Third Order of Irish Saints. Easter Disputes. Missions.*

A.D. 599–665.

Roma errat; Hierosolyma errat; Alexandria errat; Antiochia errat; totus mundus errat: soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt! [CUMMIAN., *Epist. ad Segien.* (A.D. 634).]

Period V.—*Termination of Easter Disputes. Missions.* A.D. 665–795.

Hibernia insula Scottorum sanctis viris plena habetur. [MARIAN. SCOT., *in an.* 674 (A.D. 1086).]

Period VI.—*Northman Invasions. Irish Teachers abroad.* A.D. 795–1014.

Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam, cum grege philosophorum, ad littora nostra migrantem? [ERRIC. AUTISIOD., *Pref. ad V. S. Germani* (c. A.D. 881).]

Period VII.—*Ostmen in Ireland Christianized. Canterbury claim over Irish Bishopricks. Settlement of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland.* A.D. 1014–1152.

Cantuariensis Ecclesia, totius Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, necnon adjacentium insularum mater. [EADMER, *Hist. Nov., I.* (A.D. 1122).]

Period VIII.—*Subjection of Ireland. Irish Church remodelled after the English pattern.* A.D. 1152–1175.

Insulas omnes [Papæ] sibi speciali quodam jure respiciunt. [GIR. CAMBR., *Hibern. Expugnat. II.* 6; *Opp. V.* 320 (c. A.D. 1189).]

CHURCH OF IRELAND

FROM THE BEGINNING UNTIL THE ENGLISH CONQUEST,

A.D. 350 (?)—1176.

PERIOD THE FIRST.

CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND OR OF IRISH BIRTH, BEFORE S. PATRICK.

A.D. 350 (?)—440 (?).

c. A.D. 350 (?). *Mansuetus first Bishop of Toul, an Irish Scot*^a.

ACTA TULLENS. EPISC.—Mansuetus primus Tullensium Episcopus nobili Scotorum genere oriundus. [*ap. Martene et Durand., Thes. Nov. III. 991.*]

ADSO, *V. Mansueti* [end of 10th century]:—

Inclyta Mansueti claris natalibus orti

Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis :

Insula Christicolas gestabat Hibernia gentes ;

Unde genus traxit, et satus inde fuit.

[*ap. Ussher, De Antiq. Brit. Eccl., XVI. ; Works, VI. 279.*]

^a So likewise Adso's prose *Life of S. Mansuetus* (*Bosquet, Hist. Eccl. Gallic. I. ii. 23, sq.*). See also *Ussher* (as above, pp. 296, sq.), *Calmet* (*Dissert. prefixed to Hist. Eccl. et Civ. de Lorraine, p. xxvii., and Preuves, p. 86*), *Todd* (*S. Patrick, pp. 193, 194*). Mansuetus

was also the name of the first known Bréton Bishop, A.D. 461 (see above, p. 72). And Dr. Reeves notes, that it is given as the Latin equivalent for Fethgna in the *Martyr. Donegal. p. 417*.

A.D. 415, 416. *Cælestius the Pelagian an Irish Scot*^a.

PORPHYRIUS [c. A.D. 415], *ap. Hieron. ad Ctesiph.* [*Opp., IV. ii. 481 ;* as quoted above in vol. i. p. 12].

HIERON., *Comment. in Jerem., Prolog.* [c. A.D. 416].—Ut nuper indoctus calumniator erupit, qui Commentarios meos in Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios reprehendendos putat. Nec intelligit, nimia

[CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND BEFORE S. PATRICK.]

stertens vecordia, leges Commentariorum. . . . Nec recordatur stolidissimus, et Scotorum pultibus prægravatus, nos in ipso opere dixisse, Non damus digamos, immo nec trigamos, nec, si fieri possit, octogamos. [Opp., III. 527.]

Id. *ib. Lib. III., Præf.* [c. A.D. 416].—Ipseque [diabolus] mutus latrat per Alpinum canem, grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam dentibus. Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia: qui juxta fabulas poetarum, instar Cerberi, spirituali percutiendus est clava, ut æterno cum suo magistro Plutone silentio conticescat. [Opp. III. 586.]

^a It seems the simplest interpretation of S. Jerom's words to refer them to Pelagius' coadjutor Cælestius. Pelagius himself is called a Briton by all authorities (S. Augustine, Prosper, Marius Mercator, Orosius, Gennadius). S. Jerom speaks of a "Scot" from the "neighbourhood of the Britons." Whether Cælestius

was a Christian before he quitted Ireland is left uncertain. He wrote "ad parentes suos de monasterio," while still a young man (*Gennad.*); but it may be almost certainly taken for granted that the monastery in question was not in Ireland.

Before A.D. 431. *Christians in Ireland before Palladius, but Ireland as a country still Pagan* ^a.

PROSPER AQUITAN., *Chron. in an.* 431. [A.D. 455 × 463].—Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur. [Opp. I. 401, *Bassani.*]

Id., *Cont. Collat. XXI.* [c. A.D. 432].—Ordinato Scotis Episcopo, dum Romanam insulam [Cælestinus] studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam. [*ib. I. 197.*]

^a S. Jerom also (*Adv. Jovin. II.*) speaks of seeing in Gaul, when a very young man, "Scotos gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus." Little stress can be laid on S. Chrysostom's words, who thrice speaks of τὰς

ἑσπεριανὰς ψυχὰς in the plural as Christian (see above, vol. I. pp. 10, 11) at the end of the 4th century. For Irish native legends of Irish Christianity before S. Patrick, see note ^b to the next article.

A.D. 431. *Abortive Mission of Palladius to Ireland* ^a.

PROSPER AQUITAN. [as in last article].

V. S. PATRICII [earlier than A.D. 807; prob. c. A.D. 700].—Certe enim erat, quod Palladius, Archidiaconus Papæ Cælestini urbis Romæ Episcopi, qui tunc tenebat sedem Apostolicam quadragesimus quintus a Sancto Petro Apostolo, ille Palladius ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insulam sub brumali rigore possitam convertendam. Sed prohibuit illum, quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra

[CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND BEFORE S. PATRICK.]

nisi datum ei fuerat de cœlo. Nam neque hii feri et immites homines facile recipiunt doctrinam ejus, neque et ipse voluit transigere tempus in terra non sua; sed reversus ad eum qui misit illum. Revertente vero eo hinc, et primo mari transito, cœptoque terrarum itenere, Britonum finibus vita factus [leg. functus]. [*Book of Armagh*, fol. 2. a. a.^b]

^a The *Vita Secunda* of S. Patrick, c. 23 (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 13), makes Palladius die “in Pictavorum finibus,” meaning “Pictorum,” and at Fordun. The *Annotations of Tirechan* on the Life of S. Patrick (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 16. a. a), state, that Palladius was also called Patrick, and that “martyrium passus est apud Scottos,” i. e. in Ireland. The *Scholia* on Fiac’s Hymn (*Colg. Tr. Th.* p. 5) take him expressly to Fordun (see above, in vol. I. p. 18). And the balance of evidence, such as it is, seems in favour of modern as against ancient Scotland, as the locality of his death or martyrdom. See Todd’s *S. Patrick*, pp. 286–306; and Bp. Forbes, *Calendars of Scottish Saints*, pp. 427–430. The same *Vita Secunda* (c. 24, *Colg. Tr. Th.* p. 13), which is conjecturally dated c. A.D. 900, adds some particulars of his Irish proceedings, as that he landed among the Hy Garchon (in County Wicklow), built there three (wooden, and *IV. Mag.*) churches (which are named), and left, when he withdrew, some relics of SS. Peter and Paul and others, and a copy of the Old and New Testaments, which Pope Cælestine had given him, together with the tablets on which he himself used to write.

^b The chief claim, of Irish origin, for the existence of an Irish Church before Palladius and S. Patrick, is in the eleventh century legends respecting the four Irish Munster Bishops, SS. Kieran, Ailbe, Declan, and Ibar, accepted by Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 250), and not rejected by Ussher (*Antiq. Brit. Eccl. XVI. Works*, VI. 332, 342–348), but which Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 198–221) conclusively refutes; some of these bishops being connected, in fact, with the Second Order of Irish Saints, and all of them dying in years between A.D. 500 and A.D. 600. The fourth of them, Ibar, is connected with S. Brigit by the Litany

of Aengus the Culdee, and by the hymn attributed to S. Brigit herself; as quoted in O’Curry’s *Lectures on Materials of Anc. Irish Hist.*, App. CXXIV. pp. 615, 616. There are also one or two indirect allusions in the legendary Lives of S. Patrick, which cannot bear much stress, although of ancient origin, e. g. the alleged discovery of an “altare mirabile lapideum in monte nepotum Ailello,” i. e. in a district of Co. Sligo (*Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 11 b. a), by S. Patrick; to which the *Vita Tripart. II. 35* (*Colg. Tr. Th.* p. 134) adds a “stone cave of wonderful workmanship,” and “four glass chalices.” See Todd (*S. Patr.* pp. 221–224). An allusion also occurs in the *Book of Armagh* (fol. 17 a. a), quoted by Dr. Petrie (*Tara*, p. 47, in *Trans. of Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xviii.), to a church of S. Colman at “Cluain Cain in Achud,” which that Bishop gave over to S. Patrick, and which is presumed therefore to have been founded before S. Patrick came.

That Sedulius, the Christian poet of the 5th century, was a Scot, rests solely upon his name (= *Siudbul* or *Siadbal*, and supposed to be modernized into “Shiel”), and upon a confusion between him and two others of the same name who were undoubtedly Scots, viz. the Bishop Sedulius of the Roman Council of A.D. 721, and the author of the Commentary on S. Paul’s Epistles (see Art. *Sedulius* in Smith’s *Dict. of Ancient Biography*). Cathaldus, Bishop of Tarentum, was certainly an Irish Scot, but he lived in the 7th century at the earliest (see Todd, *S. Patr.* pp. 195, 196). The legend of Brynach the Irishman, who settled in Pembrokeshire or Brecknock early in the 5th century (*Lives of Welsh SS.*, pp. 1, sq.; *Rees, Welsh SS.*, 150, 156), hardly deserves mention.

PERIODS II, III, IV, A.D. 440(?)–665. (*Introductory.*)ANCIENT SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH^a.

ANON. [c. A.D. 750]. *Incipit Catalogus*¹ *Sanctorum*² *Hiberniæ, secundum*³ *diversa tempora*^b.

First Order of Irish Saints, A. D. 440(?)–543. Primus Ordo⁴ Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant Episcopi omnes, clari et sancti et Spiritu Sancto pleni,⁵ CCCL. numero, Ecclesiarum fundatores. Unum Caput Christum⁶, et unum ducem Patri-
cium,⁷ habebant; unam⁸ missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram ab aure usque ad aurem sufferebant. Unum^c Pascha,⁹ quarta decima luna^d post æquinoctium vernale, celebrabant; et quod excommunicatum esset ab una Ecclesia, omnes excommunicabant.
¹⁰ Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant^e; quia super petram Christi fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant. Hic Ordo Sanctorum per quaterna duravit regna; hoc est,¹¹ pro tempore Lægarii¹², et¹³ Aila Muil^t, et¹⁴ Lugada filio Lægarii¹⁵, et¹⁶ Tuathail. Hi omnes Episcopi de Romanis^c et Francis et Britonibus et Scotis exorti sunt^f.

Second Order of Irish Saints, A.D. 543–599. Secundus¹⁷ ordo¹⁸ Catholicorum presbyterorum^g. In hoc enim¹⁹ Ordine pauci erant Episcopi et multi presbyteri, numero CCC. Unum Caput Dominum²⁰ nostrum habebant^h; ²¹diversas missas celebrabantⁱ, et diversas regulas²²: unum Pascha quartadecima luna²³ post æquinoctium, unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem^j. ²⁴Abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis^k. Hic Ordo per quaterna adhuc regna duravit; ²⁵hoc est^l, ab extremis²⁶ Tuathail, et per totum Diarmata Regis

¹ Ordinum, *add.* F. ² in Hibernia, F. ³ divisa, F. ⁴ om. F. ⁵ quadringenti quinquaginta, F. ⁶ colentes, *add.* F. ⁷ sequentes, F. ⁸ tonsuram habentes, et unam celebrationem missæ, et unum, F. ⁹ scilicet, F. ¹⁰ Nec laicos nec fœminas de Ecclesiis repellabant, *var. read. given by Ussher.* ¹¹ a, F. ¹² filii Neil, qui regnavit XXXVII. annis, *add.* F. ¹³ Ailildi cognomento Molt, qui XXX. annis regnavit, F. ¹⁴ Lugadii, qui VII. regnavit, F. ¹⁵ et hic Ordo Sanctorum usque ad tempora extrema Tuathalii, cognomento Moel Garbh, duravit, F. ¹⁶ Hi . . . sunt, *om. F. et add.*, sancti Episcopi omnes permanserunt. ¹⁷ vero, *add.* F. ¹⁸ Sanctorum talis erat, F. ¹⁹ secundo, *add.* F. ²⁰ colentes, F. ²¹ diversos celebrandi ritus habebant, F. ²² vivendi, et, *add.* F. ²³ celebrabant; et hi uniformem tonsuram, scilicet ab aure usque ad aurem, faciebant, F. ²⁴ Mulierum quoque consortia ac administrationem fugiebant, atque a monasteriis suis eas excludebant, F. ²⁵ scilicet, F. ²⁶ Tuathalii cognomento Moel Garbh temporibus, et XXX. annos quibus Dermotus Mackearvail regnavit, et pro tempore quo duo nepotes Muredachi qui VII. annis regnaverunt, et pro tempore quo Aidus filius Annirei qui XXX. annos regnavit, F.

regnum, et duorum Muredaig nepotum, et Ædo filii Ainmerech'. ¹ A Davide Episcopo et Gilla et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt. Quorum nomina hæc sunt': ² duo Finiani, duo Brendani, Jairlathia Tuama, Comgallus, Coemgenus, Ciaranus, Columba, Cainecus, Eogenius Mac Laisreus, Lugeus, Ludeus, Moditeus, Cormacus, Colmanus, Nesanus, Laisreanus, Barrindeus, Coemannus, Ceranus, Comanus, [Endeus, Ædeus, Byrchinus,] et alii multi ³.

Third Order of Irish Saints, A.D. 599–665. Tertius Ordo Sanctorum erat talis. Erant ⁴ presbyteri sancti, et pauci Episcopi, numero centum: qui in locis desertis habitabant, ⁵ et oleribus et aqua et elemosynis [⁶ fidelium] vivebant, ⁷ propria devitabant, et' diversas regulas et ⁸ missas habebant, et diversam ⁹ tonsuram (¹⁰ alii enim habebant coronam, ¹¹ alii cæsariem), et ¹² diversam solemnitatem Paschalem ¹³ (alii enim ¹⁴ Resurrectionem XIV. luna ¹⁵ vel XVI., cum duris intentionibus, celebrabant). ¹⁶ Hi per ¹⁷ quaterna regna ¹⁸ vixerunt; hoc est, ¹⁹ Æda Allain (qui tribus annis, ²⁰ pro cogitatione mala, tantum regnavit), et ²¹ Domnail, et filiorum Mailcobi et Æda' Slaine ²² permixta tempora; et' usque ad mortalitatem illam magnam ²³ perduraverunt. ²⁴ Hæc sunt' nomina ²⁵ eorum: Petranus Episcopus, Ultanus Episcopus, Colmanus Episcopus, ²⁶ Murgeus Episcopus, Ædanus Episcopus, ²⁷ Lomanus Episcopus, Senachus Episcopus,—hi ²⁸ sunt Episcopi ²⁹;—et alii plures. Hi vero presbyteri: Fechinus presbyter, Airendanus, Failanus, ³⁰ Comanus, ³¹ Commianus, Colmannus, Ernannus, Cronanus; et alii ³² plurimi ³³ presbyteri.

³⁴ Nota, quod primus Ordo erat ³⁵ sanctissimus; secundus, ³⁶ sanctus sanctorum; tertius, sanctus. Primus sicut sol in fervore claritatis calescit; secundus sicut luna pallescit; tertius sicut aurora splendescit. Hos tres Ordines beatus Patricius, superno oraculo edoctus,

¹ Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet a S. David, et a S. Gilda, et a S. Deco. Et horum nomina sunt hi; scilicet, F. ² Finnianus, Endeus, Colmannus, Congallus, Ædeus, Queranus, Columba, Brandanus, Bricyninus, Cainnechus, Caimginus, Lasreanus, Lasreus, Lugeus, Barrideus, F. Lasreus is given as an alternative for Lasreanus, in the *Cod. Salmantic.* ³ qui erant de secundo gradu Sanctorum, *add. F.* ⁴ enim, *add. F.* ⁵ hi, F. ⁶ *add. F.* ⁷ et omnia terrena contemnebant, et omnem susurrectionem et detractionem penitus evitabant. Hi, F. ⁸ diversos celebrandi ritus, F. ⁹ etiam, *add. F.* ¹⁰ aliqui, F. ¹¹ aliqui, F. ¹² hi, *add. F.* ¹³ habebant, *add. F.* ¹⁴ om. F. ¹⁵ alii XIII., F. ¹⁶ Hic Ordo, F. ¹⁷ quatuor, F. ¹⁸ duravit, F. ¹⁹ pro tempore Aidi, F. ²⁰ om. F. ²¹ per tempora Moelcavæ, et pro tempore Aidi, F. ²² et hic Ordo, F. ²³ duravit, F. ²⁴ Quorum, F. ²⁵ sunt hi, F. ²⁶ om. F. ²⁷ Lompanus, F. ²⁸ om. F. ²⁹ omnes, *add. F.* ³⁰ om. F. ³¹ Cumenianus, F. ³² om. F. ³³ plures, F. ³⁴ The paragraph, *Nota . . . conspexit*, stands thus in the earlier of the MSS. used by Ussher—Primus Ordo sanctissimus, secundus Ordo sanctorum, tertius sanctus. Primus sicut sol ardescit, secundus sicut luna, tertius sicut stella. The text is here taken from Ussher's 2nd MS., and alludes to a vision of S. Patrick described in Jocelyn's Life. ³⁵ sanctus sanctissimus, F. ³⁶ sanctorum, F.

intellexit; cum in visione illa prophetica vidit totam Hiberniam flamma ignis repletam, deinde montes tantum ardere, postea lucernas ardere in vallibus conspexit.

^a Printed by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Antiq. XVI., Works, VI. 477-479*), from two MSS., from the earlier of which he gives the first three paragraphs as above printed, and adds to the fourth its longer form from the other and later one. Another form of the same document was subsequently printed by Fleming (*Collect. pp. 430, 431*) from another MS., of which the various readings are given here, marked *F*. There is a copy of it in the *Codex Salmanticensis*, fol. 78 b. a (a MS. vol. of Lives of Irish Saints, in the Burgundian Library at Brussels); which was probably among Fleming's authorities, as its readings appear to agree almost exactly with his: if we may judge by an extract kindly communicated by Dr. Reeves. It appears to have been appended to MS. Lives of SS. Kieranus and Finnianus. O'Connor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptt. II. 162-165*) reprints it after Fleming; and Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 88, 89) translates it from Ussher. It has been conjecturally attributed to Tirechanus, but is at all events not later than the middle of the 8th century. See Todd (as above), and Reeves (*ad Adamn. Add. Notes*, p. 334 n): and for a full commentary upon it, see Ussher and Todd as above quoted.

^b The following list of the Kings named in the document or included within its range (from Ussher, as above, pp. 514, 515, and Todd, p. 256), and of their probable dates, will supply the proof of the chronology above given; with the addition, that A.D. 440 is taken for the commencement, as the most probable approximation to the date of S. Patrick's mission, and A.D. 665 for the termination, as being the year of the death, by the great plague, of Kings Blathmac and Diarmait; that plague raging in England,

A.D. 664, according to Bede (*H. E., III. 27*).

Period I. (1) Laoghaire Mac Neil, A.D. 428-463. (2) Oilíoll Molt, A.D. 463-483. (3) Lugaídh Mac Laoghaire, A.D. 483-508. [Interregnum, A.D. 508-513.] (4) Muirchertach Mac Erc, A.D. 513-533. (5) Tualth Moelgarbh, A.D. 533-544.

Period II. (1) Diarmait, A.D. 544-565. (2) Domhnall and Fergus, sons of Muirchertach Mac Erc, A.D. 565, 566. (3) Baotan and Eochaidh, A.D. 566-568. (4) Ainmire Mac Sedna, A.D. 568-571. (5) Another Baotan, A.D. 571, 572. (6) Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 572-599. [Ussher inverts the order of (3) and (4) and omits (5).]

Period III. (1) Aodh Sláine and Colman Rimhe, A.D. 599-605. (2) Aodh Uariodh-nach, A.D. 605-612. (3) Maolcobha, son of Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 612-615. (4) Suibhne Meann, A.D. 615-628. (5) Domhnall, son of Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 628-642. (6) Cellach and Conall Caol, A.D. 642-658. (7) Blathmac and Diarmait, sons of Aodh Sláine, A.D. 658-665.

O'Connor's dates differ slightly; and those given in Fleming's copy of the document itself, considerably. But the Annals, which are Ussher's and Todd's authorities, are the better evidence.

^c It appears by this, that Roman ecclesiastics were among S. Patrick's company; although the language of the Hymns of S. Sechnall and of S. Fiacc, and of S. Patrick's own *Confessio*, and the silence of Prosper, besides chronological difficulties, disprove, upon purely historical grounds, the supposed mission from Rome of S. Patrick himself; which first appears in the *Scholia* on *S. Fiacc's Hymn*. See Todd at length.

PERIOD THE SECOND.

S. PATRICK, AND THE FIRST ORDER OF IRISH SAINTS, A.D. 440(?)–543.

[A.D. 440^a. Probable date of the mission to Ireland of S. Patrick: (who is described by himself as “Hiberione constitutus Episcopus” [*Conf. S. Patric.*], and by a contemporary as “Episcopus Scotorum” [*Title of S. Sechnall’s Hymn*]; then as “Archipostulus Scotorum” [*Ann. Ult.*]; but, in later times, as “Ab Eireann uile,” *Abbat of all Ireland* [*Flann of Monasterbooyce*, ob. A.D. 1066, *IV. Mag. in an. 432*], and as “Airdeaspuc, Ceitt Priomaid, 7 Ardapstol Eireann,” *Archbishop, First Primate, and chief Apostle of Ireland* [*IV. Mag. in an. 493*].)

A.D. 445. Alleged date of the foundation of Armagh (*Ann. Ult.*—A.D. 457, *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 448. Death of S. Sechnall, or Secundinus, of Domhnach Sechnall or Dunshaughlin, co. Meath (*Ann. Ult.*), who “primus Episcopus sub humo Hiberniæ exivit” (*V. S. Declan.*).

After A.D. 448. S. Fiacc made Bishop of Sletty (Queen’s County).

A.D. 460. Death of Auxilius (of Killossy, co. Kildare); A.D. 468, of Benignus (of Armagh); A.D. 469, of Isserninus (of Kilcullen, co. Kildare): acc. to *Ann. Ult.*

c. A.D. 480. Nunnery founded at Kildare by S. Brigit.

A.D. 493. “Patricius archipostulus Scotorum quievit” (*Ann. Ult.*, so also *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 500. Death of S. Ibar, of Begerin, co. Wexford (*Ann. Ult.*, &c.).

A.D. 523, 5, or 7. Death of S. Brigit (*Ann. Ult.*, *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 530. Clonard founded by S. Finnian of Clonard (co. Meath).

A.D. 534 (535) or 536 (537). “Dormitatio Moctai” (of Louth) “discipuli Patricii” (*Ann. Tigb., Ult.*).

A.D. 540. Maghbile (Moville, co. Down) founded by S. Finnian of Maghbile.]

^a These dates are of course not given as more than conjectural and near the truth. Both Tillemont and Todd select A.D. 440 for S. Patrick’s mission, as being at a reasonable interval after the certain date of Palladius, A.D. 431, besides its agreement with all the

evidence, except the unhistorical statement of S. Patrick’s own mission by Celestine. The other dates also in the above list are uncertain, being variously given in the different Annals.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

INCIPIUNT LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII^a.[1. *Shortly before* A.D. 493(?). INCIPIT CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

1. Ego Patricius, peccator rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et ¹ contemptibilis sum' apud plurimos. Patrem habui ² Calpornum ³ diaconum, filium ⁴ quendam Potiti ⁵ filii Odissi' presbyteri qui fuit ⁶ vico ⁷ Bannauem Taberniæ, ⁸ villulam enim prope habuit, ubi ego ⁹ capturam dedi.' Annorum eram tunc fere xui: Deum¹⁰ verum ignorabam, et Hyberione ¹¹ in captiuitate adductus sum' cum tot ¹² milia hominum, secundum merita nostra quia a Deo recessimus, et precepta Eius non custodiimus, et sacerdotibus nostris ¹³ non

¹ contemptibilissimus, C.F₁.F₃.B. ² Calpornium, C.F₃.B. Calpurnium, F₁. ³ diaconem, C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁴ quondam, C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃.B. The two words are added in the margin of the Book of Armagh. ⁶ in, add. C.F₃.; e, add. F₁.B. ⁷ Bannauem, C.F₁.F₃.; Banaven, B. ⁸ villam, F₁.F₃.B. ⁹ in capturam decidi, *corresxit* B. ¹⁰ enim, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹¹ a. s. in c., B. ¹² milib, F₃. (on erasure); millibus, B. ¹³ inobedientes, C.F₁.F₃.B.

^a The text of the *Confessio* is taken from the Book of Armagh, fol. 22 a. a, sq.: with various readings and additions from three other MSS., Cott. MS. Nero E. I. fol. 167, sq. (C.), Fell MSS. Bodl. vol. I, fol. 7 a-11 b (F₁), and vol. III. fol. 158 a-164 a (F₃), both of which were formerly in the library of Sarum Cathedral; and from the *Acta SS.*, March 17, vol. II. pp. 533, sq., which follows a fourth MS., then at S. Vedast's at Noialle near Arras (B). Of these five MSS., that in the Book of Armagh was transcribed before A.D. 807, from a MS. alleged to have been written by S. Patrick himself, and at that time difficult to decipher, probably from its antiquity (so far the MS. itself states, and see for the date, Dean Graves in the *Trans. of Royal Irish Academy*, III. 316; Petrie, *Essay on Tara*, p. 107; Todd's *S. Patrick*, pp. 288, 346-349; Dr. Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq. of Down*, &c., p. 224). It was also written at Armagh itself. It has therefore the strongest external evidence to the genuineness of its text. It is also marked unmistakably by the peculiarities of early Irish Latin. On the other hand, its marginal notes, indicating uncertainty and incompleteness (see below, note 6 on p. 297), and the phrases *et cetera, et reliqua*, which occur in some places of it, point to its being an abridgment of the original (as Dean Graves seems rightly to argue), and also to its having a text more or less corrupt. And this is confirmed by the fact, that in the other four MSS., long passages occur in the later half

of the tract, and almost equal in length to the remainder of it, which are not in the Book of Armagh, yet bear no sign of want of genuineness, and are in sense hardly separable from the context. The text, however, of these MSS., especially that of B, has been improved in grammar, while all four, but especially C, F₁, and F₃ (of which the last is corrected throughout by a better Latinist than its original scribe), present independent copies of the same original; and that both more correct in language, and fuller, than the Armagh text. These three are of the 11th century. The title above given is from the Cotton MS. The tract was first printed in Sir J. Ware's *Opuscula S. Patricio Ascripta* in 1656, from the first four of the above-mentioned MSS.; next, in the *Acta SS.* (as above) in 1668, from the S. Vedast MS.; then by O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* I. cvii. in 1814, from the Cotton MS., corrected by the Book of Armagh; by Sir W. Betham, *Irish Antiq. Researches*, P. II. in 1827, from the Book of Armagh, but inaccurately; and by Villanueva, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 184, in 1835, from the *Acta SS.* It is also in Migne's *Patrologia*. The Bollandists "improve" S. Patrick's Creed, as well as his Latin, by inserting the *Homousion* into it, which is absent in all the other MSS. (it is, however, in S. Sechnall's Hymn, l. 88, below p. 326), besides other minor alterations. Several unimportant corrections of mere spelling in F₁.F₃, have been left unnoticed in the various readings.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

oboedientes' fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant. Et Dominus induxit super nos iram ¹animationis Suæ, et dispersit nos in gentibus multis, etiam usque ad ultimum terræ, ubi nunc paruitas mea ²esse videtur' inter ³alienigenas; et ⁴ibi Dominus aperuit ⁵sensum incredulitatis meæ, ut vel ⁶serorem orarem dilicta' mea, et ut ⁷confirmarem toto corde ad Dominum meum, Qui respexit humilitatem meam, et missertus est ⁸adoliscentiæ ignorantæ meæ, ⁹et custodiuit me, antequam ¹⁰scirem Eum, et antequam' saperem vel distinguerem inter bonum et malum, et ¹¹muniuit me et ¹²consulatus est ¹³mei, ut pater filium. Unde ¹⁴autem tacere non possum, neque expedit ¹⁵quidem, tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam, quam mihi ¹⁶dignatus ¹⁷in terra captiuitatis meæ: quia hæc est retributio nostra, ut post ¹⁸correctionem vel agnitionem ¹⁹Dei ²⁰exaltare, et ²¹confiteri mirabilia Eius coram omni natione, quæ ²²est sub omni caelo.' ²³Quia non' est alius Deus, nec umquam fuit, ²⁴nec ante, nec erit post hunc, præter ²⁵Deum, Patrem ingenitum, sine principio, a Quo est omne principium; ²⁶omnia tenentem, ut ²⁷dicimus: et ²⁸Eius Filium Jesum Christum, ²⁹Qui cum Patre scilicet ³⁰semper fuisse testamur' ante originem sæculi spiritualiter apud Patrem, ³¹inerrabiliter genitum ante omne principium, ³²et per Ipsum facta sunt vissibilia ³³; ³⁴hominem ³⁵factum ³⁶morte devicta' in cælis ³⁷; et dedit Illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen cælestium ³⁸et terrestrium et infernorum, ³⁹et omnis lingua confiteatur ⁴⁰Ei quia Dominus ⁴¹et Deus est Jesus Christus ^b: Quem credimus, et expectamus aduentum, ⁴²mox ⁴³futurum ⁴⁴iudex viuorum atque mortuorum,

¹ indignationis, F₁.F₃.B. (C. om. iram i. S., et d. nos). ^{2'} v. e., C.F₁.F₃.B. ³ alienigenas, C.F₃.B.; alienienas, F₁. ⁴ ubi, C.F₁.F₃.B. ^{5'} sensus cordis mei incredulitatis, C.F₁.; sensus c. mee i., F₃.; sensum incredulitatis c. mei, B. ^{6'} sero rememorarem delicta, C.F₁.F₃.B. (A mark in the margin of the Book of Armagh, notes this passage as difficult to decipher. Dr. Graves supposes it to stand for ζ, = *ζητῆρε*. There is another mark also attached to some passages, indicating omission, viz. .'. = *dele*). ⁷ conuerterer, C.F₁.F₃.; me conuerterem ex, B. ^{8'} adulescentie mee et ignorantie, C.F₁.F₃.; adoliscientiæ et ignorantæ meæ, B. ⁹ om. B. ^{10'} om. B. ¹¹ monuit, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹² consolatus, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹³ me, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁴ ego, add. B. ¹⁵ om. B. ¹⁶ Dominus prestare, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁷ est, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁸ correctionem, F₃. ¹⁹ Domini, C. ²⁰ exaltaremur, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²¹ confiteremur, C.F₁.F₃.B. ^{22'} sub celo est, B. ^{23'} Non enim, B. ^{24'} om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ Dominum, B. ^{26'} o. tenens, F₁.; B. om. from omnia to ante omne principium, by an *homæoteleuton*. ²⁷ diximus, F₁. ²⁸ Huius, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ Quem, C.F₁.F₃. ^{30'} f. s. t., C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ inenarrabiliter, C.F₁.F₃. ³² om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ³³ et inuisibilia, add. C.F₁.F₃.; et inuisibilia, Qui Filium sibi consubstantialem genuit, add. B. ³⁴ Homo, F₁.; Hominum, C. ³⁵ factus, F₁. ^{36'} d. m., C.F₁.F₃.; et victa morte, B. ³⁷ ad Patrem receptum, add. C.F₃.B.; ad P. receptus, add. F₁. ³⁸ om. B. ³⁹ ut, C.F₃.B. ⁴⁰ Ei, om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ^{41'} Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris, B. ⁴² Ipsius, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁴³ futurus, F₃. (on *erasure*). ⁴⁴ iudicem, B.

^b Phil. ii. 9–11 (not Vulg.). See, for these quotations from the Bible, above in vol. i. pp. 180, 181.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

Qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua: et ¹ effudit in uobis habunde ² Spiritum Sanctum' donum et pignus immortalitatis; Qui facit credentes ³ ac oboedientes ut sint filij Dei ⁴ et coheredes Christi', Quem confitemur et ⁵ adoramus unum Deum' in Trinitate ⁶ sacri nominis: Ipse enim dixit per Prophetam, "⁷ Inuoca Me in die tribulationis tuæ, et liberabo te, et magnificabis Me^c." Et iterum inquit: "Opera autem Dei reuelare et confiteri honorificum est^d." Tamen, et si in multis imperfectus sum, opto ⁸ fratribus et cognatis meis' scire qualitatem meam, ut possint ⁹ perficere votum animæ meæ. Non ¹⁰ ignoro testimonium Domini mei, Qui in Psalmo testatur: "Perdes ¹¹ eos qui loquuntur mendacium^e." Et iterum inquit: "Os quod mentitur occidit animam^f." Et ¹² idem Dominus ¹³: "Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent ¹⁴ rationem de eo' in die iudicii^g." Unde ¹⁵ autem vehementer' cum timore et tremore metuere hanc sententiam in die illa, ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere vel abscondere; sed omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem etiam minimorum peccatorum ¹⁶ ante tribunal ¹⁷ Domini Christi'. Quapropter olim cogitavi scribere, sed ¹⁸ et usque nunc hessitavi: timui enim ne ¹⁹ incederem in' linguam hominum: ²⁰ quia non dedici' sicut caeteri, qui optime ²¹ itaque jure et sacras literas utroque pari modo combiberunt' et ²² sermones illorum' ex infantia numquam ²³ motarunt; sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt: nam sermo et ²⁴ loquela ²⁵ mea translata est in linguam alienam. ²⁶ Sicut facile potest probari ²⁷ ex aliue scripturæ meæ qualiter ²⁸ sum ego' in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus: quia, inquit Sapiens, "Per linguam ²⁹ dignoscetur ³⁰ et sensus, et scientia, et doctrina ³¹ veritatis^h." Sed ³² quid prodest excussatio iuxta veritatem, præsertim cum præsumptione, ³³ quatinus modo ipse adpeto

¹ infudit, C.F₁.F₃.B. ² Spiritus Sancti, C.F₁.F₃.B. ³ et, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ Patris et c. Christi, C.F₁.F₃.; Patris, B. ⁵ u. D. a., B. ⁶ sacrosancti, B. ⁷ Inuocabis, B. ⁸ fratres et cognatos meos, C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ perspicere, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁰ enim, add. B. ¹¹ om. C.; eos omnes, B. And F₁.F₃. om. inquit in the next line. ¹² isdem, C.F₃. ¹³ in Euangelio inquit, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁴ pro eo rationem, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ autem uehementer debueram, C.F₁.F₃.; ego deberem uehementer, B. ¹⁶ nostrorum, add. B. ¹⁷ Christi D., C.F₁.F₃.; Domini nostri Iesu Christi, B. ¹⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁹ incederem, C.F₁.F₃.; incederem in, B. ²⁰ et quia non legi, C.F₃.; et qui legi, F₁.; quia non legi, B. ²¹ i. iure et s. l. utraque p. m. cumbiberunt, C.F₁.F₃. (but with combiberunt in F₃. on erasure); sacris litteris sunt imbuti, B.—Incertus liber hic, add. in marg. of Bk. of Armagh. ²² sermonem illorum, C.F₁.F₃.; studium suum, B. ²³ mutauerunt, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²⁴ lingua, B. ²⁵ nostra, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²⁶ sed, B. ²⁷ ex salua, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²⁸ e. s., B. ²⁹ dinoscitur, C.F₁.F₃.B. ³⁰ om. B. ³¹ uarietatis, C.F₁.F₃. ³² om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ³³ ut, B.

^c Ps. l. 15.^d Tobias xii. 7.^e Ps. v. 6.^f Wisd. i. 11.^g Matt. xii. 36.^h Ecclus. iv. 24.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

in senectute ¹ mea, quod in iuuentute' non comparaui; ² quod obsterunt' vt confirmarem, ³ quod ante ⁴ perlegeram; sed ⁵ si quis ⁶ me ⁷ credidit? Et si dixero, quod ante præfatus sum; ⁸ adoliscens, immo pene puer ⁹ inuerbis, capturam dedi, antequam scirem quid ¹⁰ peterem vel quid' ¹¹ adpeterem vel quid vitare debueram. Unde ¹² ergo hodie erubesco et vehimenter ¹³ pertimeo denudare imperitiam meam, quia ¹⁴ non deeritis' breuitate ¹⁵ sermone explicare ¹⁶ nequeo, sicut enim spiritus ¹⁷ gestit et ¹⁸ animas, et sensus ¹⁹ monstrat adfectus: sed si ²⁰ itaque datum mihi' fuisset sicut ²¹ et caeteris; verum tamen non silerem, propter retributionem. Et, si forte videtur apud aliquantos me in hoc præponere cum mea ²² inscientia et tardiori ²³ lingua, ²⁴ sicut scriptum est ²⁵, "Linguae balbutientes velociter ²⁶ discent loqui' pacem i:" quanto magis ²⁷ nos adpetere debemus, qui sumus ²⁸ nos aepistola Christi ²⁹ in salutem' usque ad ultimum terræ^k, et si non ³⁰ deserta, sed ³¹ ratum fortissimum scriptum' in cordibus ³² vestris, non atramento sed Spiritu Dei viui^l; ³³ et iterum Spiritus testatur, et' "³⁴ Rusticationem ab Altissimo creata est m." ³⁵ Unde ³⁶ ego primus rusticus,' profuga, indoctus ³⁷ scilicet, qui nescio' in posterum ³⁸ prouidere. Sed ³⁹ illud scio' certissime, quia vtique, priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis, qui iacet in luto profundo, et ⁴⁰ venit Qui potens est, et in Sua missericordia sustulit me: et quidem scilicet sursum adleuauit, et collocauit me in ⁴¹ sua parte.' Et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad ⁴² retribuendam quoque aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficijs Eius, hic et in aeternum, quæ mens ⁴³ hominum æstimare non potest. Unde autem ammiramini, ⁴⁴ magni et pusilli ⁴⁵, et vos ⁴⁶ dominicati qui timetis Deum, rethorici:'

¹ om. C. ² quia o., C.F₁.F₃; and F₁.F₃ add. peccata mea; o. enim, B. ³ quodque, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ non, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁶ mihi, B. ⁷ credit, C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁸ aduliscens, C.; aduliscens, F₁; adolescens, F₃.B. ⁹ (= inuerbis); in uerbis, B. ¹⁰ om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹¹ adpetere, B. ¹² ego, B. ¹³ pertimesco, B. ¹⁴ non possum de deeritis, in the Arm. MS.; desertis, F₃; desertis, C.F₁; deserti, B. ¹⁵ sermonis, F₃. (on erasure), B. ¹⁶ non possum, B. ¹⁷ gessit, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ animus, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁹ monstrare, F₁; monstrat et, B. ²⁰ ita mihi datum, B. ²¹ om. F₃. ²² inscitia, C. ²³ lingue, C.F₁. ²⁴ sed etiam, C.F₁.F₃. (om. B.). ²⁵ enim, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ²⁶ l. d., B. ²⁷ non, B. ²⁸ inquit, C.; inquit, F₁.F₃; om. B. ²⁹ om. B. ³⁰ deserta, B. ³¹ r. et f. scripta, C.F₁; rata et fortissima scripta, F₃; B has scripta only, but with a blank preceding it. ³² nostris, C.F₁.F₃. ³³ om. B. ³⁴ Rusticatio, C.F₃; Rusticatio, F₁.B. ³⁵ teste eodem Spiritu Dei uiui, add. B. ³⁶ ego p. rusticus, C.F.; ergo p. r., F₁; ergo primum rusticus, B. ³⁷ qui scilicet nescit, B. ³⁸ prouidere, B. ³⁹ scio illud, C.F₁.F₃; illud, B. (om. scio). ⁴⁰ veniens in the Arm. MS., with t under the i. ⁴¹ summo pariete, C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁴² retribuendum, F₃. (on erasure), B. ⁴³ humana, B. ⁴⁴ itaque, add. F₁.F₃. ⁴⁵ qui timetis Dominum, add. C.B.; q. t. Deum, F₁.F₃. ⁴⁶ domini ignari nethorici, C.F₃; d. i. rethorici, F₁; d. i. rhetorici, B.

^l Isai. xxxii. 4.^k Acts xiii. 47.¹ 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.^m Ecclus. vii. 15.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

audite¹ et scrutamini, Quis me stultum excitauit de medio eorum, qui videntur² esse sapientes et leges periti,³ et potentes in sermone et in omni re. Et me quidem,⁴ detestabilis huius mundi, præ cæteris inspirauit,⁵ si talis essem; dummodo⁶ autem ut cum metu et reuerantia et sine querella fideliter⁷ genti, ad quam caritas Christi transtulit⁸ et donauit me in vita mea, si dignus fuero, denique vt cum⁹ omni humilitate et naturaliter deservirem¹⁰ illis. In mensura itaque¹¹ fidei Trinitatis¹² oportet distinguere, sine reprehensione periculi notum facere donum Dei, et consolationem æternam,¹³ sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen¹⁴ ubique expandere,¹⁵ ut etiam post obitum meum¹⁶ ex a Gallias¹⁷ relinquere fratribus et filiis meis, quos¹⁸ in Domino ego baptizauit,¹⁹ tot²⁰ milia hominum; et non²¹ eram dignus, neque talis vt hoc Dominus²² seruulo Suo concederet; ²³ post erumpnas²⁴ et tantas moles, post captiuitatem, post annos multos, in²⁵ gentem illam, tantam gratiam mihi donaret, quod²⁶ ego aliquando²⁷ in iuuentute mea²⁸ numquam sperauit²⁹ neque cogitauit. Sed postquam Hiberione deueneram, cotidie³⁰ itaque pecora pascebam, et³¹ frequens in die orabam,³² magis ac magis accedebat³³ amor Dei, et timor³⁴ Ipsius et fides augebatur, et Spiritus³⁵ agebatur, vt in die una usque ad centum orationes,³⁶ et in nocte prope similiter:³⁷ ut etiam in siluis³⁸ et monte³⁹ manebam,⁴⁰ ante lucem⁴¹ excitabar ad orationem per niuem, per gelu, per⁴² pluuiam; et nihil mali sentiebam neque ulla pigritia erat in me, sicut modo video: quia tunc⁴³ Spiritus in me⁴⁴ feruebat. Et ibi scilicet⁴⁵ quadam nocte in somno audiui vocem dicentem mihi: Bene ieiunas, cito iturus ad patriam tuam⁴⁶. Et⁴⁷ iterum post paululum tempus⁴⁸ audiui responsum dicentem⁴⁹ mihi: Ecce nauis tua parata est. Et⁵⁰ non erat prope: sed forte⁵¹ habebat .cc. milia passus: et ibi numquam

¹ ergo, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ² s. esse et legisperiti, C.F₁.F₃.B. ³ detestabilem, C.F₁.F₃.B.
⁴ etsi, B. ⁵ om. B. ⁶ prodessem, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁷ ut, C.F₁. ⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃.
⁹ Illi, F₃.B. ¹⁰ quæ, add. B. (which also joins in mensura to the preceding sentence). ¹¹ sunt, add. B.; and et before sine. ¹² ac, add. B. ¹³ nomine, add. C.F₃. ¹⁴ et, B. ¹⁵ ex Gallias, C.F₁; ex Gallicis, F₃; om. B. (Incertus liber, marginal note in Book of Armagh.)
¹⁶ e. in D. b., C.B.; e. b. in D., F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ millia, B. ¹⁸ etsi, B. ¹⁹ etiam, F₁.F₃.
²⁰ seruo, B. ²¹ et, add. B. ²² erumpnas, C.B. ²³ et tante molis, C.F₁.F₃; tantæ molis, B. ²⁴ gente illa, B. ²⁵ a. e., B. ²⁶ nonquia desperauit, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ igitur, C.F₁.F₃; om. B. ²⁸ frequent., F₃. (on erasure). ²⁹ magisque, B. ³⁰ timor, F₁.F₃.
³¹ Illius, C.F₃.B.; illis, F₁. ³² augebatur, F₁.B. ³³ facerem, add. B., but not in their MS. ³⁴ et, B. ³⁵ et in mente, C.; et in mte, F₁. ³⁶ et, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ³⁷ exercitabar, C.F₁.F₃.
³⁸ pluuiam, C.F₁.F₃.B. ³⁹ in me S., C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁴⁰ quidam, C. ⁴¹ et terram, add. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴² om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴³ a. r. dicens, F₃. (on erasure); r. a. dicens, B. ⁴⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃, and MS. of B. ⁴⁵ aberat, B.

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fueram, nec ibi ¹ notum quemquam de hominibus habebam.' Et deinde postmodum conuersus sum in fugam; et intermissi hominem cum ² fueram ³ .uii. annis'; et ⁴ veni in virtute Dei, Qui viam meam ⁵ ad bonum' dirigebat, ⁶ et ⁷ nihil metuebam, ⁸ donec perueni ad nauem illam. Et ⁹ illa die qua' perueni, profecta est ¹⁰ nauis de loco suo; et locutus sum ut ¹¹ abirem ¹² unde ¹³ nauigarem cum illis. ¹⁴ Et gubernatori' displicuit ¹⁵ illi, et acriter cum indignatione respondit: Nequaquam tu nobiscum ¹⁶ adpetes ire. Et cum hæc audissem, separaui me ab illis, vt ¹⁷ venirem ad ¹⁸ tegoriolum ¹⁹ ubi hospitabam, et in itinere cæpi orare: et antequam orationem consummarem, audiui unum ex illis ²⁰ et fortiter ²¹ exclamabat post me: Veni cito: quia vocant te homines isti. Et statim ad illos reuersus sum, et coeperunt mihi dicere: Veni, quia ex fide ²² recipimus te; fac nobiscum amicitiam, quomodo volueris. Et in illa die ²³ itaque reppuli sugere mammellas eorum' propter ²⁴ timorem Dei': ²⁵ sed verumtamen ab illis speraui venire in fidem Jesu' Christi; quia ²⁶ gentes erant; et ²⁷ ob hoc obtinui cum illis. ²⁸ Et post triduum terram ²⁹ cæpimus: et ³⁰ xxviij. dies per ³¹ disertum iter fecimus. ³² Et cibus defuit illis,' et ³³ fames inualuit super ³⁴ eos. Et ³⁵ alio die coepit gubernator mihi dicere: Quid, ³⁶ Christiane, tu dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est: quare ergo ³⁷ pro nobis orare non potes? Quia ³⁸ nos a' fame periclitamur: difficile ³⁹ enim umquam' ut ⁴⁰ aliquem hominem' videamus. Ego ⁴¹ enim euidenter dixi illis: ⁴² Conuertimini ex ⁴³ fide ad Dominum Deum meum; ⁴⁴ Cui nihil est' impossibile, ut ⁴⁵ cibum mittat vobis' in viam ⁴⁶ vestram, usque dum ⁴⁷ satiamini: quia ubique habundat Illi. ⁴⁸ Et adiuuante Deo ita factum est. Ecce grex

¹ n. h. q. de h., C.F.₃; q. n. de h. habebam, B. ² quo, add. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ³ a. sex, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ⁴ om. B. ⁵ om. B. ⁶ ueni ad Benum, add. B.; et, om. C. ⁷ ex nihilo, C.F.₃. ⁸ om. F.₁. ⁹ illa qua, C.F.₁; illa quam, F.₃; mox cum, B. ¹⁰ om. B. ¹¹ haberem, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ¹² inde, F.₁. ¹³ nauigare, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ¹⁴ Et gubernator, C.; Gubernator, B. ¹⁵ erasure in F.₃; om. B. ¹⁶ adpetas, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ¹⁷ et, add. C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁸ tuguriolum, C.F.₁.F.₃.B.; ad, om. F.₃. ¹⁹ et ibi, F.₃. ²⁰ om. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ²¹ exclamare, F.₁.B.; exclamantem, F.₃. ²² recepimus, C.F.₁.F.₃; reperimus, B. ²³ And et fac, F.₁.F.₃. ²⁴ itaque repulsus sum fugere amicitias illorum, C.F.₃; itaque repulis fugere mamas illorum, F.₁; debui surgere in nauem eorum, corr. B.; but their MS. has repuli sugere mammas eorum. ²⁵ Sed uerumtamen s. ab illis ut mihi dicerent, Ueni in fide Jesu, C. (and so also, but om. sed, F.₁.F.₃); Sed u. non s. ab i. ut m. d. U. in fide, B.; but their MS. om. non. ²⁶ gentiles, B. ²⁷ om. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ²⁸ Et protinus nauigauimus, add. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ²⁹ cepimus, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ³⁰ viginti et septem, C.F.₁ (but om. et). F.₃.B. ³¹ desertum, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ³² cibus autem et potus defecit nobis, B. ³³ famis, C.F.₁. ³⁴ nos, B. ³⁵ alia, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ³⁶ est, add. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. (and the note of interrogation after Christiane). ³⁷ non potes pro n. o., C.F.₁.F.₃; n. p. pro n. o.; ora pro nobis, B. ³⁸ om. B. ³⁹ est enim, C.F.₃.B. ⁴⁰ a. h. umquam, C.F.₁.F.₃. ⁴¹ h. a. unquam, B. ⁴² uero, B. ⁴³ conuertimini, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ⁴⁴ fide et ex toto corde, C.F.₃; fide ex toto corde, F.₁; toto corde, B. ⁴⁵ quia nihil est Illi, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ⁴⁶ hodie cybum m. nobis, F.₁; m. nobis c., B. ⁴⁷ nostram, B. ⁴⁸ satiemi, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ⁴⁹ om. C.F.₁.F.₃.B.

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porcorum in via ¹ ante oculos nostros ² apparuit, et multos ex illis ³ interfecerunt: et ibi .ij. noctes manserunt ⁴ et bene refecti. Et ⁵ canes eorum ⁶ repleti sunt, quia multi ex illis ⁷ secus viam semiuiui ⁸ relictus sunt. Et post ⁹ hæc summas gratias egerunt Deo; et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum ¹⁰. Etiam mel ¹¹ siluistre inuenierunt, et mihi partem obtulerunt: et unus ¹² ex illis dicit: ¹³ Immolaticum est. Deo gratias. Exinde nihil gustavi. Eadem vero ¹⁴ eram dormiens, et fortiter temptauit me Satanas, ¹⁵ quod memor ero quandiu ¹⁶ fuero in hoc corpore: ¹⁷ et cecidit super me ¹⁸ veluti saxum ingens, et ¹⁹ nihil membrorum præualens. Sed unde ²⁰ mihi venit ²¹ in ²² spiritum ²³ ut Heliam uocarem. Et ²⁴ in hoc vidi in ²⁵ cælum solem oriri; et dum ²⁶ clamarem ²⁷ Heliam ²⁸ viribus meis, ecce splendor solis illius ²⁹ decedit super me, et statim discussit a me ³⁰ grauitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo ³¹ Domino meo ³² clamabat pro me: ³³ et spero quod sic erit in die presuræ meæ, sicut in Æuangelio ³⁴ inquit Dominus, Non vos estis ³⁵. Multos adhuc ³⁶ capturam dedi. ³⁷ Ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis: responsum autem Diuinum audiui, ³⁸ Duobus autem mensibus eris cum illis: quod ita factum est. Nocte ³⁹ illa ⁴⁰ sexagesima liberauit me Dominus de manibus eorum. ⁴¹ Etiam in itinere ⁴² prævidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem cotidie, donec ⁴³ decimo die ⁴⁴ peruenimus omnes; sicut superius insinuauimus. Xx. et viij. ⁴⁵ disertum iter

¹ ueniebat, *add.* B. ² *om.* C.F₁.F₃.B. ³ interfecerunt, C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁴ *om.* C.F₁.F₃.B.
⁵ carnes, C.; carne, F₃. ⁶ releuati, C.F₃.B.; reuelati, F₁. ⁷ defecerunt et, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.B.; and eis for illis, F₃. ⁸ derelicti, C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁹ hoc, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁰ Et ex hac die abundanter cibum habuerunt, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.; Ex illa autem die c. a. h. sed, *add.* B. ¹¹ siluestre inuenierunt, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹² illorum, B. ¹³ Hoc immolaticum, C.; Hoc immolatum, F₁.F₃. (*on erasure*); Hoc immolatum, B. ¹⁴ nocte, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁵ cuius, F₃. ¹⁶ fueram, C.F₁.; fuero, F₃. (*on erasure*). ¹⁷ et cecidit, C.F₁.F₃.; cecidit enim, B. ¹⁸ ueluti saxa ingentia, C.F₁.F₃.; uelut saxum ingens, B. ¹⁹ nihil m. meorum præualui, C.F₁.F₃. and *MS.* of B; omnium m. meorum uires abstulit, *corr.* B. ²⁰ me, C.F₁.; *om.* B. ²¹ ignarum in, C.; ignarum, et, F.; ignoro in, F₃. (*on erasure*); ignoro, ut, B. ²² spiritu, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²³ Heliam uocarem, C.; Heliam uocare, F₃.; Eliam invocarem, B. ²⁴ inter hæc, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²⁵ cælo, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²⁶ clamabam, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ Heliam (*bis*), C.F₁.F₃.; Eliam (*bis*), B. ²⁸ totis, *add.* B. *And* et ecce, F₁. ²⁹ cecidit, B. ³⁰ omnem, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.B. ³¹ Deo, C.F₁.; Domino, F₃.; *om.* B. ³² subuentus sum, et Spiritus Eius iam tunc clamauit, C.F₁.F₃. ³³ s. autem, B. ³⁴ inquit, In illa die, Dominus testatur, C.F₁.F₃.; Dominus testatur; In illa die, inquit, B. ³⁵ qui loquimini; sed Spiritus Patris uestri, Qui loquitur in uobis. Et iterum post annos, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.; qui l., sed S. P. u. Qui l. in uobis. In itinere autem nostro (*as four lines further on in the text, down to*) cibo uero nihil habuimus. Et iterum post annos non, *add.* B. ³⁶ in capturam decidi, B. ³⁷ Nocte uero prima, B. ³⁸ dicentem mihi: Duos menses, C.; dicente mihi: Duos menses, F₁.; dicens mihi: Duos menses, F₃. (*on erasure*). B. ³⁹ igitur, *add.* B. ⁴⁰ sexagesimo die, C.F₁.F₃.; sexagesima, B. ⁴¹ Ecce, C.F₁.F₃.; *om.* B. ⁴² prouidit, C.; autem nostro prouidit, B. ⁴³ quarto, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁴⁴ p. ad homines, C.F₃.; peruenimus ad homines, B. (F₁. *has* peruenimus omnes, and *om.* by an *homæoteleuton* down to de cibo uero). ⁴⁵ per desertum iter fecimus. Et, C.F₁.B.; dies per d. i. f. Et, F₃.

ⁿ See I Cor. x. 28, 29.^o Matt. x. 20.

fecimus ex' ea nocte qua peruenimus ¹ omnes, de cibo uero nihil habuimus. ² Et iterum post paucos annos in ³ Britannis eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium ⁴ susceperunt; et ex fide rogauerunt me, ut vel modo ⁵ ego post tantas tribulationes, quas ego pertuli, ⁶ nusquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet ⁷ in ⁸ sinu noctis' virum venientem quasi de Hiberione, ⁹ cui nomen Victoricus,' cum æpistolis innumerabilibus ¹⁰ vidi: et dedit mihi unam ex ¹¹ his, et ¹² legi principium æpistolæ ¹³ continentem: Vox ¹⁴ Hyberionacum. Et ¹⁵ dum recitabam ¹⁶ principium æpistolæ, putabam ¹⁷ enim ipse in mente' audire vocem ipsorum qui erant iuxta ¹⁸ siluam Focluti ¹⁹, quæ est prope mare ²⁰ Occidentale, et sic exclamauerunt: ²¹ Rogamus te, ²² sancte puer,' ut venias et adhuc ²³ ambulas inter nos. Et valde compunctus sum corde, et amplius non potui legere: et sic ²⁴ expertus sum. Deo gratias, quia post plurimos annos præstitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem ²⁵ illorum. Et alia nocte, nescio, Deus scit; utrum in me, an iuxta me, verbis ²⁶ peritissime, quos ego audiui et non potui ²⁷ intellegere, nisi ad ²⁸ posterum orationis sic ²⁹ efficiatus est: Qui ³⁰ dedit animam suam pro te, Ipse est Qui loquitur in te.' Et sic ³¹ expertus sum gaudibundus.' Et iterum ³² uidi in me ipsum orantem: et ³³ eram quasi' intra corpus meum, et audiui, ³⁴ hoc est, super interiorē hominem, et ibi fortiter orabat ³⁵ gemitibus. Et inter hæc stupebam et ³⁶ ammirabam et cogitabam, quis esset qui ³⁷ in me orabat.' Sed ad postremum orationis ³⁸ sic efficiatus est,' ³⁹ ut sit Episcopus,' ⁴⁰ et sic expertus sum,' et recordatus sum ⁴¹ Apostolo dicente: "Spiritus adiuuat ⁴² infirmitatis orationis nostræ:'

¹ ad homines, C.F.₁.B. ² om. B. ³ Britanniis, C.F.₁.F.₃; Britannia, B. ⁴ suscep-
perunt, C.F.₁.F.₃; exceperunt, B. ⁵ me, C.F.₁.F.₃; om. B. ⁶ nunquam, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ⁷ uidi,
add. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ⁸ uisu nocte, C.F.₁.F.₃; uisu de nocte, B. ⁹ Victoricius nomen, C.F.₁.F.₃;
Victricius nomen, B. ¹⁰ om. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ¹¹ illis, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ¹² lego, B. ¹³ conti-
nenter, B. ¹⁴ Hiberionarum, B. (*miswritten and corrected*, F.₁). ¹⁵ cum, C.F.₁.F.₃.B.
¹⁶ initium, B. ¹⁷ ipso momento, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ¹⁸ silua uirgulti uolutique, C.; siluam uirgul-
tique, F.₁; siluam uirgulti uolutique, F.₃; s. uirgulti, MS. of B. ¹⁹ Occidentem, C.F.₁.F.₃.
²⁰ quasi ex uno ore, add. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ²¹ sanctum puerum, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ²² ambules, C.F.₁.F.₃.B.
²³ expergefactus, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ²⁴ eorum, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ²⁵ Marked as doubtful in marg. of the Arm.
MS.; peritissimis, C.F.₁.F.₃; peritissimis audiebam quosdam ex Spiritu psallentes intra me, et nes-
ciebam qui essent, B. ²⁶ intelligere, F.₃.B. ²⁷ postremum, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ²⁸ affatus, C.F.₁.F.₃.B.
²⁹ pro te animam suam posuit, C.F.₃; p. t. a. s., F.₁; dedit pro te animam suam, B. ³⁰ ex-
pergefactus s. g., C.F.₁.F.₃; euigilauit, B. ³¹ audiui, B. ³² eram, C.F.₁.F.₃; erat, B. ³³ super
me, add. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ³⁴ cum, add. B., but it is not in their MS. ³⁵ admirabar, C.F.₁.F.₃.B.
³⁶ oret in me, C.F.₁.F.₃; oraret in me, B. ³⁷ sic effatus est, C.F.₃; s. effectus e., F.₁; dixit, B.
³⁸ (Eps. *miswritten for* Sps.).—ut sit Spiritus, F.₃; Se esse Spiritum, B. ³⁹ om. B. ⁴⁰ Apostoli
dicentis, B. ⁴¹ infirmitatem n. o., C.F.₁.F.₃; infirmitatem o. n., B.

p Near Killala, co. Mayo. The readings in the other MSS. agree with the facts, that the Armagh MS. was written at an early time in Ireland, while the knowledge of ancient

localities was still retained, whereas C.F.₁.F.₃.B. were copied at a later period, when they had been forgotten.

q 1 John iii, 16.

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¹ nam quod' oremus ² sicut oportet, nescimus, sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus ine[n]arrabilibus, quæ verbis ³ exprimi non possunt^r." Et iterum: "⁴ Dominus aduocatus noster ⁵ postulat pro nobis^s." [⁶ Et quando tentatus sum ab aliquantibus senioribus meis, qui venerunt, ⁷ ob peccata mea, contra laboriosum Episcopatum meum, ⁸ nonnumquam in illo die fortiter impulsus sum, vt caderem hic et in æternum: sed Dominus pepercit proselyto et peregrino propter nomen suum, ⁹ et mihi' benigne ¹⁰ valde ¹¹ subuenit in hac conculcatione, quod in ¹² labem et opprobrium non male deueni. Deum oro, vt non illis in peccatum reputetur ¹³ occasio: ¹⁴ nam post annos triginta inuenerunt me, ¹⁵ aduersus verbum, quod confessus fueram ¹⁶ antequam essem Diaconus. Propter anxietatem mœsto animo insinuauit amicissimo meo, quæ in pueritia mea vna die gesseram, imo in vna hora, quia necdum præualebam. Nescio, Deus scit, si ¹⁷ habebam tunc annos' quindecim, et Deum ¹⁸ vnum non credebam ¹⁹ ab infantia mea: sed in morte et in incredulitate mansi, donec valde castigatus sum: et in veritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate; et quotidie contra ²⁰ Hiberionem non sponte pergebam, donec prope deficiebam. Sed hoc potius ²¹ mihi bene' fuit: quia ex hoc emendatus sum a Domino, et aptauit me vt hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me erat, vt ego curas haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum, quando ²² etiam de me ipso non cogitabam. Igitur in illo die quo reprobatus sum a memoratis supradictis ad noctem illam,] ²³ vidi in vissu noctis' scriptum ²⁴ erat contra faciem meam sine honore, et inter hæc audiui responsum ²⁵ dicentem mihi: Male ²⁶ audiuius faciem ²⁷ designati, nudato nomine. Nec sic prædixit: Male vidisti: sed, Male vidimus: quasi ²⁸ Sibi Se iunxisset'; sicut dixit: "Qui vos ²⁹ tangit, ³⁰ quasi qui' tangit pupillam oculi Mei^t." Idcirco gratias ago Ei, Qui me in omnibus confortauit, vt

¹ nam quid, F₃.B.; numquid, C.F₁. ² om. B. ³ exprimi non potest, C.F₁.F₃; exprimere non possum, B. ⁴ Deus, C.; Dominus est, B.; D. a. est, F₁. ⁵ et Ipse, add. B. ⁶ The passage in brackets, Et quando to noctem illam, is omitted by the Book of Armagh. It is given here (as are also the following passages of the same kind) from B., with various readings from C.F₁.F₃., in all of which four MSS. it and the like passages occur. ⁷ et, C.F₁.F₃. ⁸ utque, C.; utique, F₁.F₃. ⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ et, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ mihi, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹² labe, C.; and m. erased in F₃. In, add. before opprobrium, F₁.F₃. ¹³ occasionum, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ et, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ antequod, C. ¹⁷ habeam t. annis, C.; habeam t. annos, F₃. ¹⁸ uiuum, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ neque ex, C.F₁.F₃. And F₁ om. the second in. ²⁰ Hiberione, C.F₁. ²¹ b. m., C.F₁.F₃; and F₁ has hæc for hoc. ²² autem tunc, add. C.F₁.F₃. (but autem erased in F₃). ²³ in u. n. uidi, B.; but vidi is not in their MS. ²⁴ om. B. ²⁵ Diuinum dicentem, C.F₁.; Diuinum dicens, F₃ (on erasure). B. ²⁶ uidimus, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ Dei signati, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁸ ibi Se iunxit, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²⁹ tangit (bis), C.F₁.F₃.B. ³⁰ quasi, C.F₁.F₃.; qui, B.

■ Rom. viii. 26.

■ 1 John ii. 1.

t Zech. ii. 8.

non me ¹impediret a profectione², qua statueram, et de ³mea quoque ⁴opera quod a Christo ⁵Domino meo ⁶dedideram: sed magis ⁷ex eo' sensi virtutem non paruum: et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus. Unde autem ⁸audenter dico, non me repræhendit conscientia mea ⁹hic et in futurum,¹⁰ teste Deo, ab eo' quia non sum mentitus in sermonibus quos ¹¹ego retuli ¹²vobis. [¹³Sed magis ¹⁴doleo pro amicissimo meo, cur ¹⁵tale meruimus habere' responsum, cui ¹⁶ego credidi etiam animam ¹⁷meam. Et ¹⁸comperit ab aliquantis fratribus ¹⁹meis ante defensionem illam, quod ego non interfui, nec in Britannijs eram, nec a me orietur, ut et ille in mea absentia ²⁰pulsetur pro me.' Ipse ore suo dixerat: Ecce ²¹promouendus es tu ad gradum Episcopatus: quo non eram dignus: sed unde venit illi postmodum, ut coram cunctis bonis et malis ²²in me publice dehonestaret, quod ante sponte et lætus indulserat? ²³Est Dominus, Qui maior omnibus est. Satis dico: sed tamen ²⁴non debeo abscondere donum Dei, quod largitus est ²⁵in terra captiuitatis meæ; quia tunc fortiter inquisiui ²⁶Illum, et ibi inueni Eum, et seruauit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus, ²⁷propter inhabitantem Spiritum Eius^u, Qui operatus est usque in ²⁸hunc diem in me²⁹. ³⁰Nouit autem Dominus, si ³¹ab homine ista audissem, forsitan tacuissem propter caritatem Christi. Unde ³²ego indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo, Qui me fidelem seruauit in die tentationis meæ; ita ut hodie ³³confidenter offeram Illi sacrificium, ³⁴et velut hostiam viuentem animam meam ³⁵consecro Domino meo, Qui me seruauit ab omnibus angustiis meis; ut ³⁶Ei dicam: Quis ego sum, Domine, vel quæ est ³⁷inuocatio mea, Qui mihi tantam diuinitatem ³⁸denudasti? ita ut hodie ³⁹exaltarem et magnificarem nomen Tuum ⁴⁰in quocumque' loco fuero; ⁴¹nec tantum' in secundis, sed etiam in pressuris; ut quidquid mihi euenerit, siue bonum siue malum,

¹ impenderet, C.F₁.; impediret (on erasure), F₃. ² mea, add. B.; and quam for qua, F₁.F₃.B. ³ meo, F₃ (on erasure). B. ⁴ opere, F₃ (on erasure). B. ⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁶ didiceram, C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁷ et ex eo in me, F₁.; ex eo in me, F₃. ⁸ om. B. ⁹ om. B. ¹⁰ testem Deum habeo, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹¹ om. B. ¹² om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹³ For the passage in brackets, from Sed magis to ultra est, here taken from B., see above, note 6, on p. 304. ¹⁴ deleo, F₁. ¹⁵ hoc meruimus audire tale, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ ergo, C. ¹⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ comperi, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁰ pro me pulsaret. Etiam mihi, C.F₁.F₃. ²¹ dandus, C.F₃.; datus, F₁.; and quod for quo in next line, F₁.F₃. ²² et, C.F₁.F₃. ²³ et, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ om. F₁. ²⁵ nobis, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ Eum, C.F₁.F₃.; and Illum for Eum in next line, F₁.F₃. ²⁷ sic credo, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁸ hanc, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ audenter rursus, add. C.F₃.; audienter rursus, add. F₁. ³⁰ sed scit Deus, C.F₃.; sed sit D., F₁. ³¹ mihi homo hoc effatus fuisset, C.F₁.F₃. ³² ergo, C.F₁.F₃. ³³ confitenter, F₁. ³⁴ ut, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁵ Christo, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁶ et, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁷ uocatio, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁸ cooperuisti, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁹ in gentibus constanter exultarem, C.F₃.; g. c. e., F₁. ⁴⁰ ubicumque, C.F₁. (and F₃. with a blank for loco). ⁴¹ necnon, C.F₁.F₃.

^u Rom. viii. II, marg.

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æqualiter ¹ debeam suscipere, et Deo gratias semper agere; Qui mihi ostendit ut indubitabilem Eum ² crederem sine fine, et Qui me audierit: ut et ego ³ in nouissimis diebus hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum ⁴ auderem aggredi; ita ut ⁵ imitarer illos, quos ⁶ Dominus iam olim prædixerat ⁷ prænuntiatiuros Euangelium Suum “in testimonium omnibus gentibus” ante finem mundi. Quod ⁸ sicut vidimus, ⁹ ita suppletum est. Ecce testes sumus, quia Euangelium prædicatum est usque ubi nemo ultra est.]

Longum est autem totum per singula ¹⁰ enarrare laborem meum vel per partes: breuiter dicam qualiter pi[i]ssimus Deus de seruitute sepe ¹¹ liberauit, ¹² et de periculis xij. quæ periclitata est anima mea; præter insidias multas, et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo, ¹³ nec iniuriam legentibus faciam. Sed ¹⁴ Deum auctorem ¹⁵, Qui nouit omnia, etiam antequam fiant; [¹⁶ Ut me pauperculum ¹⁷ et pusillum’ responsum Diuinum ¹⁸ creberrime admoneret.’ Unde mihi hæc sapientia, quæ in me non erat, qui nec numerum dierum noueram, neque Deum sapiebam? Unde mihi postmodum ¹⁹ tam magnum ²⁰ et salubre ²¹ donum Dei’ agnoscere ²² et diligere, ²³ ut patriam et parentes amitterem, et munera multa ²⁴ quæ mihi offerebantur cum fletu et lacrymis? Et offendi ²⁵ illic contra votum aliquantos de senioribus meis: sed gubernante Deo nullo modo consensi neque acquieui illis: non ²⁶ ego, sed Dei gratia, quæ vicit’ in me: et ²⁷ restiti illis omnibus, ²⁸ quatenus venirem’ ad Hibernas gentes Euangelium prædicare, et ab incredulis ²⁹ iniurias perferre, vt ³⁰ audirem opprobrium peregrinationis meæ, et ³¹ persecutiones multas usque ad vincula, et ut darem ³² me et’ ingenuitatem meam pro ³³ utilitate aliorum. Et si dignus fuero, promptus sum, ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime ³⁴ ponam pro nomine Eius: et ³⁵ Illi opto impendere eam usque ad mortem, si Dominus

¹ debeo, C.F₁.F₃. ² s. f. c., C.F₁.F₃. ³ inscius sim, add. C.F₃; inscius, add. F₁.
⁴ adire aggredere, C.; a. aggredere, F₃; audire aggredere, F₁. ⁵ imitarem quispiam, C.F₁; imitarer quospiam, B.; i. q. illos (on erasure), F₃. ⁶ ante, add. C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ prænuntiatiuros, C.; prænuntiaturum, F₁; prenuntiatus, F₃. ⁸ ita ergo ut, C.F₃; ita ergo, F₁. ⁹ itaque, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ narrare, B. ¹¹ me, add. B., but not in their MS. ¹² ex duodecim periculis, C.B.; e. d. p. quibus, F₁.F₃. ¹³ nec et, C.F₁.F₃; ne, B. ¹⁴ Dum, F₁.F₃; Dominum, B. ¹⁵ habeo, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁶ For the passage in brackets, from Ut me pauperculum down to indulgeret, here taken from B., see above in note 6, on p. 304. ¹⁷ pupillum, C.F₁.F₃; and add. ideo tamen, F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ creberrime admonuit, C.F₃; creber admoneret, F₁. ¹⁹ donum, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁰ om. C.; tam, F₁.F₃. ²¹ Deum, C.F₁.F₃. ²² uel, C.F₁.F₃. ²³ sed, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁵ illos, C.F₁.F₃; and aliquantis in next line, F₁.F₃. ²⁶ mea gratia, sed Deus Qui vincit, C.F₁; m. g., sed D. Q. vicit, F₃. ²⁷ restitit, C.F₃; resistit, F₁. ²⁸ ut ego ueneram, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ contumelias, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ aurem, C.; haurirem, F₁. (and on an erasure) F₃. ³¹ persecutionis, C. ³² om. C.F₃; me, F₁. ³³ utilitatem, C. ³⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ³⁵ ibi, C.F₁.F₃.

¹ indulgeret.] Quia valde debitor sum Deo, Qui mihi tantam gratiam donauit, ut populi multi per me in ² Deum renascerentur,³ et ut clerici ubique ⁴ illis ordinarentur, ad plebem nuper ⁵ venientem ad credulitatem, quam sumsit Dominus ab extremis terræ; ⁶ sicut olim promisserat per profetas Suos: “Sicut falso comparauerunt patres nostri idola, et non est in eis utilitas.”—“Ad Te gentes veniunt et dicent^v.” Et iterum: “Posui Te ⁷ lumen in^g gentibus ut sis ⁸ in salutem^{usque} ad ⁹ extremum terræ^z.” Et ibi volo expectare promissum Ipsius, Qui ¹⁰ usque numquam fallit, sicut in Æuangelio pollicetur: “Venient ab Oriente et Occidente ¹¹ ab Austro et ab Aquilone, et^{recumbent} cum Abraam et Issac et Iacob^a.” sicut credimus ab omni mundo venturi ¹² sint credentes.’ Idcirco ¹³ itaque oportet ¹⁴ bene et diligenter ¹⁵ piscare, sicut Dominus præmonet ¹⁶ et docet,⁷ dicens: “Venite post Me, ¹⁷ et faciam vos ¹⁸ fieri piscatores hominum^b.” Et iterum ¹⁹: “Ecce ²⁰ mitto pisca- tores et venatores multos, dicit Deus^c.” et cætera. Unde ²¹ autem valde oportebat^{retia} nostra tendere, ita vt multitudo copiosa et turba Deo caperetur: ²² et ubique essent clerici, qui baptizarent et ²³ exhortarent populum ²⁴ indegentem et dessiderantem; sicut Do- minus ²⁵ in Æuangelio ²⁶ ammonet et docet⁸ dicens: “Euntes ergo ²⁷ nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti;” ²⁸ reliqua usque dicit, “sæcli^d.” Et iterum ²⁹: “Euntes ³⁰ ergo in mundum uniuersum prædicate Æuangelium omni creaturæ; qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit; ³¹ qui uero non crediderit, condempnabitur^e.” ³² Reliqua sunt exempla.’

¹ mihi, *add.* C.F₁F₃. ² Deum renascentur, C.F₁F₃; Domino r., B. ³ et postmodum consummarentur, *add.* C.F₁F₃.B. ⁴ Illis, F₁; Illi, F₃. ⁵ ueniente, C. ⁶ sicut olim promiserat per prophetas Suos ad gentes uenient ab extremis terræ; et dicent, Sicut falsa comparauerunt [comparauerunt, F₃; and F₁. *adds* et] patres nostri idola, et non est utilitas in eis, C.F₁F₃; B. (*om. from* sicut olim *to* terræ *by an homœoteleuton, and then reads*), et dicent, Sicut falsa comparauerunt p. n. sibi idola, et n. e. u. in eis. ⁷ in lucem, B. ⁸ salus Mea, B.; and et sis, *just before*, F₁. ⁹ ultimum, C.B.; and aspectare, in *next line*, F₁. ¹⁰ utique, C.F₁F₃.B. ¹¹ *om.* C.F₁F₃. (*B. om. ab A. et ab A.*). ¹² sunt c., C.F₁F₃; *om.* B. ¹³ *om.* C.F₁F₃.B. ¹⁴ quidem, *add.* C.F₁F₃.B. ¹⁵ piscari, B. and F₃ (*on erasure*). ¹⁶ *om.* C.F₁F₃.B. ¹⁷ *om.* B. ¹⁸ *om.* C.F₁F₃. ¹⁹ dicit per prophetas, *add.* C.F₁F₃.B. ²⁰ Ego, *add.* C.F₁F₃.B.; and peccatores, F₁; and dicit Dominus, F₁F₃. ²¹ a. v. oportebatur, C.F₁; a. v. oportebat, F₃; oportuit ualde, B. ²² ut, C.F₁F₃.B. ²³ exhortarentur, F₃; exhortarentur, B. ²⁴ indi- gentem, C.F₁F₃.B. ²⁵ inquit, *add.* C.F₁F₃.B. ²⁶ admonens et. B. ²⁷ *om.* C.F₁F₃.B.; and F₁. *has ego* for ergo. ²⁸ docentes eos seruare [observare, F₁F₃.] omnia quæcunque mandavi uobis: et ecce Ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi, C.F₁F₃; so also B., but with dixero for mandavi. The passage is one of those which indicate that the Armagh copy is abridged. ²⁹ dicit, *add.* C.F₁F₃.B. ³⁰ *om.* C.B. ³¹ *om.* B. ³² *om.* C.F₁F₃.B. The exempla are obviously those which follow in the text, but are omitted in the Book of Armagh: a further passage to prove this last to be abridged.

^v Jerem. xvi. 19.^a Acts xiii. 47.^a Matt. viii. 11.^b Matt. iv. 19.^c Jerem. xvi. 16.^d Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.^e Mark xvi. 15, 16.

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¹ [Et “prædicabitur hoc Euangelium regni in uniuerso mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc veniet finis^f.” Et ² iterum Domini Propheta prænuntians, inquit: “Et erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu Meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filij vestri et filia vestra³, et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt: et quidem super seruos Meos et ⁴ ancillas Meas in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu Meo et prophetabunt^g.” Et ⁵ Osee dicit: “Vocabo non-plebem Meam ⁶ plebem Meam’, et non-misericordiam-consecutam ⁶ misericordiam-consecutam’. Et erit in loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs Mea vos; ibi vocabuntur filij Dei viui^h.”] Unde autem ⁷ Hiberione, qui numquam notitiam [Dei] ⁸ habuerunt, ⁹ nissi idola ¹⁰ et immunda vsque ¹¹ semper coluerunt, quomodo nuper ¹² facta est plebs Domini, et filij Dei ¹³ nuncupantur filij ¹⁴ sanctorum, et filia Regulorum monachi ¹⁵ et virgines Christi ¹⁶ esse videntur. ¹⁷ [Et etiam una ¹⁸ Scotta benedicta’, nobilis, pulcherrima, ¹⁹ adulta erat, quam ego baptizauī: et post paucos dies vna caussa venit ad nos: insinuauit ²⁰ namque nobis responsum accepisse a ²¹ nuntio Dei, ²² qui monuit ²³ eam ut permaneret’ virgo Christi, et ²⁴ sic Deo proximaret. Deo gratias, sexta ab hac die optime et audissime arripuit illud, quod etiam omnes virgines Dei ²⁵ similiter faciunt; non ²⁶ voluntate patrum suorum’; ²⁷ imo ²⁸ persecutiones patiuntur et inproperia falsa a parentibus suis, et nihilo-minus plus augetur numerus: et de genere nostro ²⁹ quæ ibi ³⁰ Christo ³¹ natæ sunt, nescimus numerum ³² earum, præter viduas et continentes. Sed et ³³ illæ maxime laborant, quæ seruitio detinentur: usque ad terrores et minas assidue ³⁴ perferunt: sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis ³⁵ Suis: nam ³⁶ etsi vetantur’, tamen fortiter imitantur. Unde autem ³⁷ possem etsi voluero ³⁸ dimittere

¹ For the passage between brackets, Et to Dei Viui, here taken from B., see above in note 6, on p. 304. Et iterum, C.F.₁.F.₃. ² Item Dominus per prophetam prenuntians, C.F.₃.; item Dominus per prophetam prenuntiat, F.₁.

³ Et filii vestri uisiones uidebunt, add. C.F.₁.F.₃.

⁴ super, add. C.F.₁.F.₃. ⁵ in, add. C.F.₃. ⁶ om. C. ⁷ Hiberionæ, B. ⁸ habuerant, C.F.₁.F.₃.B.; and add before it, Dei. ⁹ nec, add. B. ¹⁰ om. B. ¹¹ nunc, add. C.F.₁.F.₃.B.

¹² perfecta, F.₁.F.₃.; effecta, B. ¹³ nuncupabuntur, B. ¹⁴ Scottorum, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. (and begin the sentence at the second Filii). The word stands thus in the Book of Armagh—scorum.

¹⁵ om. F.₁. ¹⁶ ipse, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁷ For the passage between brackets, from Et etiam to pro animabus vestris (p. 311), here taken from B., see above, note 6, p. 304. ¹⁸ b. S., gentiua, C.; b. S., gentiua, F.₁.; b. S. genetiva, F.₃. ¹⁹ adultera, F.₁. ²⁰ om. C.F.₁.F.₃. ²¹ nutu, C.F.₃.

²² et, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²³ etiam ut esset, C.F.₁.F.₃.; and F.₁. om. Christi. ²⁴ ipsa, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁵ ita hoc, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁶ sponte p. earum, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁷ sed, C.F.₁.; sed et, F.₃. ²⁸ persecutionem patiantur, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁹ qui, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³⁰ om. C.F.₁.F.₃.; and MS. of B. ³¹ nati, C.F.₁.F.₃.

³² eorum, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³³ illa (corrected), F.₃.; illas, C.F.₁. ³⁴ persuerunt, C.F.₃.; perseuerant, F.₁. ³⁵ meis, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³⁶ et siue tantum, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³⁷ om. C.F.₁.F.₃.; and MS. of B.

³⁸ amittere, C.F.₁.F.₃.

^f Matt. xxiv. 14.

^g Joel ii. 28.

^h Hosea i. 10, ii. 23.

illas, et ¹ pergere in ² Britannias; ³ etsi libentissime paratus ⁴ irem, quasi ad patriam et parentes: ⁵ et non id solum, sed etiam usque ⁶ ad Gallias ⁷ visitarem fratres ⁸ meos, ut viderem faciem Sanctorum Domini mei: scit Dominus quod ego ⁹ id valde optabam. Sed ¹⁰ illigatus Spiritu ⁱ (Qui mihi protestatur, si hoc fecero, ¹¹ et reum futurum' esse designat) ¹² timeo ¹³ perdere laborem, quem inchoavi; et non ego, sed Christus Dominus, Qui ¹⁴ mihi imperavit ut venirem, ¹⁵ essemque cum illis' residuum ætatis meæ; si Dominus voluerit et custodierit me ab omni ¹⁶ macula, vt non peccem coram Illo. ¹⁷ Sperare autem hoc debueram: sed memetipsum non credo, quamdiu fuero in "hoc corpore mortis ^k:" quia fortis est qui quotidie nititur ¹⁸ me subvertere' a fide et proposita castitate religionis non fictæ, ¹⁹ quam seruabo' usque in finem vitæ meæ Christo ²⁰ Domino meo: sed caro inimica semper ²¹ adtrahit ad mortem, id est, ad illecebras ²² in infelicitate perfruendas'. Et scio ex parte ²³ quod ego' vitam perfectam ²⁴ non didici', sicut et ceteri credentes: sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in ²⁵ conspectu Eius', quia non mentior: ex quo cognoui Eum ²⁶ in iuuentute mea, creuit in me amor Dei et timor Ipsius, et vsque nunc, fauente Domino, "fidem seruauit ^l." Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit, ego non silebo neque ²⁷ abscondam signa et mirabilia, ²⁸ quæ mihi a Domino ²⁹ monstrata sunt ante multos annos quam ³⁰ fierent, quasi Qui "nouit omnia etiam ante tempora secularia ^m." Unde ³¹ ego quidem debueram' sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, Qui sæpe indulsit insipientiæ meæ ³² et negligentia meæ; . . . et de loco non in unoquoque, ut non mihi vehementer irascetur, ³³ cui adiutor datus sum, et non cito acquieui, secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat, et ³⁴ Spiritus nihilominus' suggerebat. Et misertus est mihi Dominus in millia millium: quia vidit in me quod paratus eram; sed quod ³⁵ nihilo

¹ ut pergens, C.F₁.F₃. ² Britannii, C.F₁.F₃. ³ Et, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ eram, C.F₁.F₃.
⁵ om, C.F₁.F₃. ⁶ om, C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ uisitare, C.F₁.F₃. ⁸ om, C.F₁.F₃; and F₁.F₃ add.
et. ⁹ om, C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ¹⁰ alligatus, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ ut futurum rerum me, C.;
u. f. reum me, F₁.F₃. ¹² et, add, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ pendere, C. ¹⁴ me, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ esse
cum illis, C.; esse meum illis, F₁; esse mecum illis, F₃. (on erasure). ¹⁶ uia mala, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁷ Spero, C.F₁.F₃; and memetipso, F₁. ¹⁸ s. me, C.F₁.F₃; and preposita, F₁. ¹⁹ om.
C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁰ Deo, F₃. ²¹ trahit, C.F₁.F₃. ²² inlicite perficiendas, C.F₃;
inlicitate perficiendas, F₁. ²³ quare, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ ego non egi, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ c. Ipsius, C.F₃;
inspectu Ipsius, F₁. ²⁶ a, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ abscondo, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁸ quem, F₁. ²⁹ mini-
strata, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ fuerant, C.F₃; fuerunt, F₁. ³¹ autem debuero, C.F₁.F₃. ³² om.
C.F₁.F₃. ³³ qui, C.F₁.F₃. And irascetur, C. ³⁴ sicut Spiritus, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁵ mihi pro
his nesciebam de s. m., C.F₃; mihi pro his nesciebam detestatu, F₁.

ⁱ Acts xx, 22.^k Rom. vii, 24, marg.^l 2 Tim. iv, 7.^m See Acts xv, 18.

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plus sciebam de statu meo quid facerem: quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant, ¹ et quidam inter ² ipsos post tergum meum narrabant et dicebant: Iste quare se mittit in periculum inter hostes, qui Deum non nouerunt? Non ³ causa malitiæ; sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, ⁴ iter illud, propter rusticitatem meam. Et non cito agnoui gratiam, quæ tunc erat in me: nunc mihi ⁵ sapit, quod ante debueram ⁶ vocanti Deo parere. Nunc ergo simpliciter insinuavi fratribus et conseruis meis, qui mihi crediderunt: propter quod prædixi et prædico ad roborandam ⁷ fidem vestram. ⁸ Utinam et vos imitemini maiora, et potiora faciatis. ⁹ Hæc erit gloria mea: quia "filius sapiens gloria patris est n." Vos scitis et Deus qualiter ¹⁰ conuersatus sum inter vos a iuuentute mea; ¹¹ in fide veritatis et ¹² sinceritate cordis, etiam ad gentes illas, inter quas habito; ego fidem illis ¹³ præstiti et præstabo. Deus scit, neminem illorum circumueni, nec cogito, propter Deum et Ecclesiam Ipsius; ne excitem illis et ¹⁴ vobis omnibus persecutionem, et ne per me ¹⁵ blasphemetur nomen Domini: quia scriptum est: "Væ homini per quem nomen Domini blasphematur." Nam etsi imperitus sum ¹⁶ in omnibus, tamen conatus sum quidpiam seruare me, etiam ¹⁷ fratribus Christianis et virginibus Christi, et mulieribus religiosis, quæ mihi vltronea munuscula donabant, et super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis, et iterum ¹⁸ reddebam illis; et aduersus me scandalizabantur cur ¹⁹ hoc faciebam: sed ego ²⁰ id faciebam propter spem perennitatis, vt me in omnibus caute ²¹ possem conseruare; ita ut me in aliquo titulo ²² infideles non carperent, vel ²³ etiam ministerium seruitutis meæ: nec, etiam in ²⁴ minimis, incredulis locum darem infamare siue detrectare ²⁵ me paratis. Forte autem quando baptizauī tot millia hominum, sperauerim ab aliquo illorum vel ²⁶ dimidium scriptulum? Dicite mihi, et reddam vobis p. ²⁷ An quando ordinauit ubique Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam, ²⁸ numquid ministerium gratis distribuī illis? Si

¹ et iam, C.F.₃; etiam jam, F.₁. ² seipsos, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³ ut, add. C.F.₁.F.₃. ⁴ intellegi, C.; intelligi, F.₃, and MS. of B.; intellexi, F.₁; and F.₁ has testator. ⁵ capit, C.F.₁.F.₃. ⁶ om. C.F.₁.F.₃, and MS. of B. ⁷ et confirmandam, add. C.F.₁.F.₃. ⁸ Ut, C.; Utinam ut, F.₁.F.₃. ⁹ Hoc, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁰ apud uos c. sum, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹¹ et, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹² in, add. F.₁.F.₃. ¹³ præstauī, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁴ nobis, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁵ blasphemaretur, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁶ nominibus, C.F.₁, and MS. of B. ¹⁷ et, add. C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁸ reddebant, F.₁, and aduersum, F.₃. ¹⁹ ego, C.F.₃. ²⁰ om. C.F.₁.F.₃, and MS. of B. ²¹ propterea conseruarem, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²² infideli caperent, C.F.₁.F.₃; and MS. of B. om. non. ²³ om. C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁴ minimo, F.₁.F.₃. ²⁵ om. C.F.₁.F.₃, and MS. of B. ²⁶ dimedio scriptule, C.F.₁; dimidium scriptule, F.₃. The *screapall* was an ancient Irish coin, value about 3d. ²⁷ Aut, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁸ Add. B.; et, C.F.₁.F.₃.

n Prov. x. 1.

o Levit. xxiv. 16.

p 1 Sam. xii. 3.

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poposci ab aliquo illorum vel pretium ¹ calceamenti mei, dicite ² mihi; et reddam vobis ³ magis. Ego impendi ³ vobis, vt me ⁴ caperent; et inter vos et ubique pergebam caussa vestra in multis periculis, etiam usque ad exterarum partes, ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat, qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret, aut populum ⁵ in fide confirmaret: donante Domino, diligenter ⁶ ac libentissime pro salute vestra omnia ⁷ gessi. ⁸ Interea præmia ⁹ Regibus dabam; præter quod mercedem dabam filijs ipsorum, qui mecum ambulant: et ¹⁰ nihilominus comprehenderunt me ¹¹ nunc cum comitibus ¹² meis, vt in illa die audissime ¹³ interficerent me. Sed tempus nondum venerat. Et omnia quæcumque ¹⁴ habebamus nobiscum rapuerunt ¹⁵, et ¹⁶ meipsum ferro vinxerunt. Et quarto decimo die absoluit me Dominus ¹⁷ a potestate eorum, et quidquid nostrum fuit, redditum est nobis propter Deum et necessarios amicos, quos ante ¹⁸ prouidimus. Vos autem experti estis ¹⁹ quanta erogaueram eis, qui ²⁰ indigebant per omnes regiones, ²¹ quas ego frequentius visitabam: censeo enim non ²² minus quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis. Ita, ut me fruamini et ego vobis semper fruar in ²³ Domino (²⁴ nec me pœnitet nec satis est mihi) adhuc impendo et superimpendam: potens est ²⁵ enim Dominus vt det mihi postmodum, ut meipsum ²⁶ impendam ac superimpendam^r pro animabus vestris.] Ecce testem Deum inuoco in animam meam, quia non mentior, ²⁷ neque, ut ²⁸ sit ²⁹ occasio ³⁰ vobis, neque ut honorem ³¹ spero ³² ab aliquo viro: sufficit enim ³³ honor, qui ³⁴ non ³⁵ mentitur. Sed video iam in præsentis sæculo me supra modum ³⁶ exaltatus sum a Domino; et non eram dignus neque talis ut ³⁷ hoc mihi præstaret: dum scio ³⁸ melius conuenit paupertas et calamitas quam ³⁹ diuitiæ et deliciæ. Sed et Christus Dominus

¹ uel, *add.* C.F₁.F₃. ² aduersus me, C.F₁.F₃. ³ pro, *add.* F₁.F₃. ⁴ caperet, C.F₁.F₃.
⁵ consummaret, C.F₁.F₃. ⁶ et, C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ generaui, C.F₃; generari, F₁. ⁸ Interim, C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ d. R. propter quod d. m., C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ nihil, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ om. C.F₁.F₃.
¹² meis. Et, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ cupiebam interficere, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁴ nobiscum inuenerunt, C.F₁.F₃.;
and MS. of B. om. habebamus. ¹⁵ illud, *add.* C.F₁.; illa, *add.* F₃. (*on erasure*). ¹⁶ me, C.;
meipso, F₁. ¹⁷ de, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ prouidimus, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ quantum ego erogavi illis, C.F₁.F₃.
²⁰ indicabant, C.; iudicabant, F₁.F₃. *and MS. of B.* (The Brehon judges, probably.) ²¹ quos,
C.F₁.F₃. ²² minimum, C.F₁.F₃. (*and F₃ has an erasure for quam*). ²³ Deum, C.F₁.F₃.
²⁴ Non, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ impendat, C.F₁.; impendam, F₃. ²⁷ quod, *add.* B. (*not in their MS.*). ²⁸ fit, B. ²⁹ causa, B. ³⁰ adulationis uel auaritie, scripserim, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.B.
³¹ sperarem, C.F₃.B.; serarem, F₁. ³² uestrum, C.F₁.F₃.B. ³³ mihi, *add.* F₁.F₃.B. ³⁴ nondum,
F₁.F₃.B. ³⁵ uidetur sed corde creditur. ³⁶ Fidelis autem Qui promissit, nunquam, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.B.
³⁶ exultatum, C.F₁.F₃.; exaltatum, B. ³⁷ m. h., B. ³⁸ certissime quod mihi m. c., C.F₁.F₃.;
certissime quod mihi c. m., B. ³⁹ dilittas et diuitias, C.F₁.; deliciæ et diuitiæ, F₃.B.

^a 1 Sam. xii. 3.

^r 2 Cor. xii. 15.

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¹ pauper fuit pro nobis^s. Ego ² vero miser et infelix, etsi opes voluero, iam non habeo, neque meipsum ³ iudico: quia quotidie ⁴ spero aut internicionem, aut circumueniri, aut redigi in seruitutem, sive ⁵ occasio cuiuslibet. ⁶ [Sed nihil horum vereor propter promissa cælorum: quia iactaui meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis, ⁷ Qui vbique dominatur, sicut Propheta ait: "Iacta cogitatum tuum in ⁸ Dominum, et Ipse te enutriet^t." Ecce ⁹ ego commendo' animam meam fidelissimo Deo meo, pro Quo ¹⁰ legatione fungor in ignobilitate mea: sed quia personam non accipit, et elegit me ad hoc officium, ut unus essem de Suis ¹¹ minimus minister. "Unde autem retribuam Illi pro omnibus quæ ¹² retribuit mihi^u;" ¹³ seu quid dicam ¹⁴ aut quid promittam Domino meo? Quia nihil ¹⁵ valeo nisi Ipse mihi dederit: sed ¹⁶ scrutatur corda et renes^x; quia satis et nimis cupio, et paratus eram, ut donaret mihi bibere calicem¹⁷, sicut indulsit ¹⁸ et ceteris amantibus Se. ¹⁹ Quapropter non ²⁰ contingat mihi a Domino meo ut ²¹ unquam amittam plebem ²² Suam, quam acquisiuit in ultimis terræ. ²³ Oro ergo'. Deum ut ²⁴ mihi det' persequerantiam, et dignetur ut reddam Illi ²⁵ me testem fidelem usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum. Et, si aliquid boni ²⁶ imitatus sum unquam' propter Deum meum Quem diligo, peto ²⁷ Illi, ²⁸ ut det mihi ²⁹ quatenus cum illis proselytis et captiuis pro nomine Suo effundam sanguinem meum, etsi ³⁰ ipsa etiam caream ³¹ sepultura, ³² et ³³ miserrime cadauer per singula ³⁴ diuidatur; ³⁵ auibis, canibus, aut bestiis ³⁶ ac feris projiciatur, vt comedant' illud. Certissime ³⁷ enim reor, si mihi hoc ³⁸ curæ sit', lucratus sum animam ³⁹ in corpore meo: quia ⁴⁰ nulla dubitatione in ⁴¹ illa die' resurgemus in claritate solis, hoc est in gloria ⁴² Iesu Christi redempti omnes erimus' quasi ⁴³ filij Dei^v ⁴⁴ et cohæredes Christi, et conformes

¹ pro nobis p. f., B. ² om. C.F₁.F₃; and opus, F₃. ³ dignum, add. B. (not in their MS.).
⁴ sperno, C.F₃. ⁵ occasionem, F₃. (on erasure); occasione, B. ⁶ For the passage in brackets, from Sed nihil to prius evaseram, here taken from B., see above, in note 6, on p. 304.
⁷ quia, C.F₁; and dicit, F₁.F₃. ⁸ Deum, C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ nunc c., C.F₁; c. nunc, F₃.
¹⁰ legationem, C. ¹¹ minimis, F₁.F₃. ¹² retribuatur, F₁.F₃. ¹³ sed, F₃. ¹⁴ uel, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁵ uideo, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ scrutabor, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ Eius, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ Quia
²⁰ propter, C.; Quia, F₁. ²¹ contingunt, C.F₁.F₃; and Deo, F₁.F₃. ²² nunquam, C.F₁.F₃.
²³ meam, C. ²⁴ oro, C.F₃; ora, F₁. ²⁵ d. m., C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B.
²⁷ unquam i. [inimitatus, F₁.] s., C.F₁.F₃. ²⁸ illum, F₃. ²⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ ut, C.F₁.F₃.
³¹ ipsum, C.; ipsam, F₁; ipse, F₃. (on erasure). ³² sepulturam, C.F₁. ³³ aut, C.F₁.F₃.
³⁴ miserissime, C.; miserrissime, F₁; miserrime, F₃. (on erasure). ³⁵ membra, add. C.F₁.F₃.
³⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁷ aspersis, aut uolucres cœli comederent, C.; a. a. u. c. comederunt, F₁;
³⁸ a. a. u. c. comederint, F₃. ³⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁰ incurrisset, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴¹ cum, C.F₁.F₃.
⁴² sine ulla, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴³ d. i., C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁴ Christi Iesu Redemptoris nostri, C.F₁.F₃.
⁴⁵ filium, C. ⁴⁶ uiui, add. C.F₁.F₃.

^s 2 Cor. viii. 9.^t Ps. lv. 22.^u Ps. cxvi. 12.^x Ps. vii. 9.^y Rom. viii. 17, 29.

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¹ creaturæ imaginis ipsius: ² quoniam ex Ipso, et per Ipsum, et in Ipso sunt omnia: Ipsi gloria in secula seculorum, Amen. In Illo enim regnaturi sumus'. Nam sol iste quem videmus, ³ Illo iubente, propter nos quotidie oritur, sed numquam regnabit ⁴ neque permanebit splendor eius: sed et omnes qui adorant eum in pœnam miseri male deuenient. Nos autem ⁵ qui credimus et adoramus solem verum ⁶ Iesum Christum, Qui numquam interibit; neque qui fecerit voluntatem ⁷ Suam ⁸ interibit sed manebit in æternum, ⁹ quomodo Christus ¹⁰ manet in æternum, Qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et ¹¹ Spiritu Sancto ante secula, et nunc et per omnia secula seculorum, Amen. Ecce iterum ¹² atque iterum' breuiter exponam verba Confessionis meæ. Testificor in veritate et in exultatione ¹³ coram Deo et sanctis angelis Eius, ¹⁴ quia numquam habui ¹⁵ ullam occasionem præter Euangelium et promissa Illius, ut unquam ¹⁶ redirem ad gentem' illam, unde ¹⁷ prius ¹⁸ euaseram.] Sed præcor credentibus ¹⁹ et timentibus Deum, quicumque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam, quam ²⁰ Patricius peccator', indoctus scilicet, Hiberione ²¹ conscripsit; ut nemo umquam dicat, quod ²² mea ignorantia' si aliquid pussillum ²³ egi vel demonstraui secundum ²⁴: sed arbitramini ²⁵ et uerissime ²⁶ credatur, quod ²⁷ donum Dei' fuisset. Et hæc est confessio mea antequam moriar.

²⁸ Huc usque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua: septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad caelos'.

¹ future, C.F₁.F₃. ² C.F₃. *om. from sunt to enim*; F₁. *om. from quoniam to sumus.*
³ Deo, F₃.; *om. C.F₁.* ⁴ et, *add. C.F₃.* ⁵ *om. F₃.* ⁶ *om. C.F₁.F₃.* ⁷ Ipsius,
C.F₁.F₃.; *and just before, fecerat, F₁.* ⁸ *om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B.* ⁹ quomodo et, F₁.F₃.
(C. *om. quomodo—æternum.*) ¹⁰ manebit, C.F₁.; permanebit, F₃. ¹¹ cum, *add. C.F₁.F₃.*
¹² iterumque, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ cordis, *add. C.F₁.F₃.* ¹⁴ qui, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ aliquam, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁶ redderem agentem, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ autem, *add. C.F₁.F₃.* ¹⁸ vix, *add. C.F₁.F₃.* ¹⁹ ac, B.
²⁰ peccator P., B. ²¹ conscripsi, B. ²² m. ignorantia, F₁.; meæ ignorantia fuerit, B. (*but*
fuerit not in their MS.). ²³ ego, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ Dei placitum, *add. C.F₁.F₃.; p. D., add. B.*
Marked as doubtful in margin of Book of Armagh. ²⁵ ac, B. ²⁶ creditur, F₁.;
credatis, B. ²⁷ Dei, C.F₁.F₃.; Deus, B. ²⁸ Added by the same hand at the end
of the *Confessio* in the Book of Armagh.

[EPISTOLA S. PATRICII AD COROTICI SUBDITOS.]

[*Shortly before A.D. 493 (?)*.]

EPISTOLA S. PATRICII

AD CHRISTIANOS COROTICI TYRANNI SUBDITOS.¹

1. Patricius peccator indoctus², Hiberione³ constitutus⁴ Episcopus, certissime reor, a Deo accepi id quod sum: inter⁵ barbaras⁶ utique⁷ gentes proselytus et profuga, ob amorem Dei. Testis⁸ Ille est', si ita est. Non quod optabam tam dure et tam aspere aliquid⁹ ex ore meo effundere: sed cogor zelo Dei¹⁰ ac veritatis Christi¹¹ excitatus, pro dilectione proximorum atque filiorum, pro quibus tradidi patriam et parentes et animam meam, ¹² quia usque ad mortem si ¹³ dignus sum', ¹⁴ voui Deo meo docere gentes, etsi ¹⁵ nunc contemnar a quibusdam'. ¹⁶ Et manu mea scripsi atque condidi verba ista danda ¹⁷ ac tradenda militibus mittenda Corotici, non dico ciuibus meis ¹⁸ atque ciuibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed ciuibus dæmoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum, ¹⁹ qui Barbarorum' ritu hostili in morte viuunt; socij Scotorum atque Pictorum apostatarum, ²⁰ quasi sanguine volentes saginari' innocentum Christianorum, quos ego ²¹ innumeros Deo genui atque in Christo confirmaui.

2. Postera die qua ²² chrismati neophyti in veste candida, ²³ dum fides flagrabat' in fronte ipsorum, ²⁴ crudeliter trucidati atque mactati ²⁵ sunt gladio, supradictis ²⁶ misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero, ²⁷ quem ego ex infantia docui, cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid ²⁸ indulgeretur de præda vel de captiuis baptizatis quos ²⁹ ceperunt: ³⁰ sed cachinnos fecerunt de illis. Idcirco nescio ³¹ quid magis lugeam':

¹ The text is taken from the Actt. SS., March 17, vol. ii. (B.); with various readings from Cotton MS. Nero E. 1. (C.), and from Fell MSS., vols. i. and iii. (F₁.F₂.). The title above given is added by the Bollandists. In C.F₁.F₂. the tract is introduced with merely, *Explicit liber primus, Incipit secundus*. It has been printed with the *Confessio*, as above in note ^a, p. 296. Coroticus probably = Ceredig, (the Christian) Prince of Ceredigion or Cardigan. ² scilicet, add. C.F₁.F₂. ³ constitutum, F₂. ⁴ Episcopum me esse fateor, C.F₁.F₂. ⁵ barbaros, F₂. ⁶ itaque, C.F₁.F₂. ⁷ habito, C.F₁.F₂. ⁸ e. I., C.F₁.F₂. ⁹ et, F₁. ¹⁰ et, C.F₁.F₂. ¹¹ excitavit, C.F₁.; excitavit me, F₂. (*interlined*). ¹² om. C.F₁.F₂. and MS. of B. ¹³ dignum suum, C.; dignum sum, F₁. ¹⁴ noui, C; uiuo, F₁. ¹⁵ contemptior a quibus, C.; contemnor a quibus, F₁.; contemnor quibus, F₂. ¹⁶ om. C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁷ et, C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁸ neque, C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁹ om. C.F₁.F₂. and MS. of B. ²⁰ que sanguinolentos (sanguentos, C.) sanguinare de sanguine, C.F₂.; que sangulentos s. de s., F₁. ²¹ innumerum, C.F₁.F₂. ²² crismate, F₂. ²³ flagrabat, C.; flagrant, F₂.; fragrabat, F₁.; and fides, not in MS. of B. ²⁴ dum, add. C.F₁.F₂. ²⁵ om. C.F₁.F₂. and MS. of B. ²⁶ Et, add. C.F₁. ²⁷ quam, F₁. ²⁸ indulgerent, C.F₁.F₂. ²⁹ ceperant, F₂. ³⁰ om. C.F₁.F₂. and MS. of B. ³¹ quod m. l., C.; quos m. l., F₂.; quid m. lugebam, F₁.

an qui interfecti, vel quos ceperunt; vel quos grauiter Zabulus illaqueauit, ¹ qui ² perenni pœnæ in gehenna' pariter cum ipso ³ mancipabuntur: quia utique "qui facit peccatum, seruus est ⁴ peccati ^a," et filius ⁵ diaboli nuncupatur.

3. ⁶ Quapropter ⁷ resciat omnis homo timens Deum, quod ⁸ a me alieni sunt et a Christo Deo meo, pro Quo ⁹ legatione fungor, ¹⁰ patricidæ, et fratricidæ', lupi rapaces, "deuorantes plebem Domini ut cibum panis ^b," sicut ait: "Iniqui dissipauerunt legem Tuam, Domine ^c:" ¹¹ quam in supremis temporibus Hiberione optime ¹² et benigne plantauerat atque ¹³ instruxerat. Fauente ¹⁴ Deo, "non usurpo ¹⁵ aliena ^d:" sed' partem habeo cum his, ¹⁶ quos ¹⁷ vocauit ¹⁸ ac prædestinauit Euangelium prædicare in persecutionibus non paruis usque ad extremum terræ; etsi inuidet inimicus per tirannidem Corotici, qui Deum non veretur, nec sacerdotes ¹⁹ Eius, quos ²⁰ elegit, et indulsit illis ²¹ summam ²² diuinamque ²³ potestatem, "quos ligarent super terram ²⁴ esse ligatos' et in cælis ^e."

4. Unde ergo quæso ²⁵ plurimum, sancti' et humiles corde, adulari talibus non licet, nec cibum nec potum sumere cum ipsis, nec eleemosinas ipsorum ²⁶ debent recipi', donec crudeliter ²⁷ effusis lacrymis poenitentiam agentes satisfaciant Deo', et liberent seruos Dei et ancillas Christi baptizatas, pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus. "Dona ²⁸ enim iniquorum reprobatur Altissimus ^f," ²⁹ et "qui offert sacrificium ex substantia ³⁰ pauperis, quasi ³¹ qui victimat filium in conspectu patris ³² g." " ³³ Diuitiæ," ³⁴ inquit, "quas ³⁵ congregauit iniuste, euomentur de ventre eius, ³⁶ angelus mortis trahit illum', ira draconum ³⁷ mulctabitur, interficiet illum ³⁸ lingua colubri' ^h," ³⁹ comedet ⁴⁰ eum "ignis inextinguibilis' ⁱ:" ideoque, "Væ qui replent se ⁴¹ his

¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ² perhenne pena gehenne, F₃.; perenne pena gehennam, C.F₁. ³ mancipabunt, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁵ Zabuli, C.F₁.F₃. ⁶ Quare propter, C.; propter quam rem, F₃. ⁷ sciat, C.F₃. ⁸ om. C. ⁹ legationem, C.F₁. ¹⁰ patri-
cida, fratricida, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ quoniam, C. ¹² om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ instructa erat, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁴ Domino, F₁. ¹⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ¹⁶ om. F₁. ¹⁷ aduocauit, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁸ et, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ Ipsius, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁰ egegit, F₁. ²¹ summa, F₁. ²² Diuinam,
C.F₁.F₃. ²³ sublimem, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ l. e., C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ primum Dei, F₁. ²⁶ recipere
debere, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ p. e. l. satis Deo faciant, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ om.
C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ pauperum, C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ om. C.F₃. ³² sui, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³³ Diuitias,
C.F₁. ³⁴ inquit, C. ³⁵ congregabit, C.F₃.; and injustus, F₃. ³⁶ t. i. angelum m.,
C.F₁.; t. i. angelus m., F₃. ³⁷ mucrabitur, F₁. ³⁸ linguam coluris, C.; lingua colubris, F₁.
³⁹ comedet, F₁.F₃. ⁴⁰ autem, add. F₁. ⁴¹ om. C.F₁.F₃.

^a John viii. 34, 44.

^b Ps. xiv. 4, &c.

^c Ps. cxix. 126.

^d See 2 Cor. x. 14.

^e Matt. xvi. 19, &c.

^f Eccus. xxxiv. 23.

^g Eccus. xxxiv. 24.

^h Job xx. 15, 16, Lxx.

ⁱ Matt. iii. 12, &c.

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¹ quæ non sunt sua ^k.” ² Et “quid prodest homini ⁸ si totum mundum lucretur ⁴ se autem ipsum perdat et ⁵ detrimentum animæ suæ patiatur ¹?” Longum est per singula ⁶ discurrere vel insinuare per totam legem ⁷ carptim testimonia de tali cupiditate. Auaritia mortale crimen. “Non concupisces rem proximi tui ^m.—Non occides ⁿ.—Homicida non potest esse cum Christo ^o: qui ⁸ enim odit fratrem suum homicida ⁹ esse adscribitur ^p.” ¹⁰ Et, “Qui non diligit fratrem ¹¹ suum ¹² manet in morte ^q.” Quanto magis reus est, qui manus suas ¹³ coinquinat in sanguine filiorum Dei, quos nuper ¹⁴ conquistavit in ultimis ¹⁵ finibus terræ per ¹⁶ exhortationem paruitatis nostræ?

5. Numquid sine Deo vel secundum carnem ¹⁷ Hiberionem veni? Quis me compulit? Alligatus ¹⁸ sum spiritu ut ¹⁹ non videam aliquem de cognatione mea. Numquid ²⁰ amo piam misericordiam, quod ²¹ sic ago erga ²² illam gentem, ²³ quæ me aliquando ²⁴ cepit, et ²⁵ deuastavit seruos et ancillas ²⁶ patris mei? Ingenuus ²⁷ sum secundum carnem, ²⁸ nam Decurione patre nascor: vendidi ²⁹ autem nobilitatem meam (non erubescō ³⁰ neque poenitet) pro utilitate aliorum: denique ³¹ sum in Christo ³² traditus genti exteræ ob gloriam ineffabilem perennis vitæ, quæ est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro: et si mei ³³ non cognoscunt, “Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet ^r.” Forte non sumus ³⁴ ex uno patre, neque ex uno ouili: ³⁵ sicut ait ³⁶ Dominus: “Qui non est Mecum ³⁷ contra Me est, et qui non congregat Mecum, spargit ^s.” Non conuenit ³⁸ si unus destruit, alter ædificat. ³⁹ Num quæro quæ mea sunt?

6. Non mea gratia, sed Deus ⁴⁰ hanc quidem sollicitudinem ⁴¹ dedit in corde meo, ut ⁴² essem de venatoribus siue ⁴³ de ⁴⁴ piscatoribus, quos olim Deus in nouissimis diebus ante prænuntiavit. Inuidetur

¹ qui, F₁. ² uel, C.F₁.F₃. ³ ut, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁵ a. s. d., C.F₁.F₃.
⁶ discutere, C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ carpere, F₁.F₃; capere, C. ⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁰ Uel, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ om. C. ¹² in m. manet, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ coinquinat, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁴ adquisiuit, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ extationem, C. ¹⁷ Hiberione, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁸ om. C.F₃. ¹⁹ om. C. ²⁰ a me, C.F₁. (an erasure in F₃). ²¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS.
 of B. (an erasure in F₃ for quod). ²² g. i., C.F₁.F₃. ²³ qui, C.F₁.F₃. (corrected to quæ,
 F₃.) ²⁴ ceperunt, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ deuastauerunt, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ domus, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ fui,
 C.F₁.F₃. ²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃; and Decorione, F₁.F₃. ²⁹ enim, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ neque me,
 C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ seruos, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³² om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ³³ me, add. C.F₁.F₃.
³⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁵ neque unum Deum patrem habemus, add. C.F₁; n. D. u. p. h., add. F₃.
³⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁷ om. C. ³⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ³⁹ Non, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁰ q. h.,
 C.F₁.F₃. ⁴¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ⁴² unus, add. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴³ om. C.F₁.F₃.
⁴⁴ peccatoribus, F₁.

^k Habak. ii. 6.^l Matt. xvi. 26; Mark viii. 16.^m Exod. xx. 17, &c.ⁿ Exod. xx. 13, &c.^o See 1 John iii. 15.^p 1 John iii. 15.^q 1 John iii. 14.^r Luke iv. 24.^s Matt. xii. 30.

mihi. Quid faciam Domine? Valde despicior. Ecce oues Tuæ circa me laniantur atque deprædantur ¹a supradictis latrunculis, iubente Corotico ²hoste: mente ³enim longe est a caritate Dei traditor Christianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum. “Lupi rapaces deglutierunt gregem Domini⁴,” qui utique Hiberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat; et filij Scottorum ⁴ac filiæ Regulorum monachi ⁵ fiebant et virgines Christi ⁶quot enumerare nequeo. “⁷Qui propter iniuriam iustorum’ non ⁸Te placat Domine’, etiam usque ad inferos non ⁹placabit^u.”

7. Quis sanctorum non horreat iocundare vel ¹⁰conuiuium facere’ cum talibus? De spolijs defunctorum Christianorum repleuerunt domos suas; de rapinis viuunt, nesciunt ¹¹misereri. Venenum ¹²bibunt, ¹³letalem cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos; sicut Eua non intellexit quod ¹⁴utique mortem ¹⁵tradidit viro suo: sic sunt omnes qui male agunt; mortem’ perennem pœnamque ¹⁶perpetuam ¹⁷operantur. Consuetudo Romanorum ¹⁸Gallorumque Christianorum ¹⁹est, mittunt ²⁰presbiteros sanctos ²¹et idoneos ad Francos ²²et exterarum gentes’ cum tot ²³millibus solidorum ad redimendos captiuos ²⁴baptizatos: tu ²⁵omnes interficis et vendis illos genti exteræ ignoranti Deum: quasi in lupanar tradis ²⁶membra Christi; qualem ²⁷ergo spem habes in Deum?

8. ²⁸Qui ²⁹tecum sentit’, aut qui ³⁰communicat verbis ³¹alienis et adulationi’, Deus iudicabit: scriptum est enim: “Non solum facientes mala, sed etiam consentientes damnandi sunt^x.” Nescio quid dicam ³²aut quid loquar amplius de defunctis filiorum Dei, quos gladius supra modum ³³tetigit. Scriptum est enim: “³⁴Flere cum flentibus^y.” Et iterum: “Si dolet unum membrum, ³⁵condolent omnia membra^z.” Quapropter Ecclesia ³⁶plorat et ³⁷plangit filios et

¹ et, C.F₁.F₃. ² hostili, F₃; hostile, C.F₁. (*and no stop*). ³ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ et, C.F₁.F₃. ⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ⁷ quamobrem iniuria istorum, C.; quamobrem injuria iustorum, F₁.F₃. ⁸ Tibi placeat, F₃; Te placeat, C.F₁; Te placat, MS. of B. ⁹ placebit, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ conuiuium frueri, C.F₁; conuiuio frui, F₃. ¹¹ miseri, C.F₁.F₃. (*and no stop*); and domus, just before, F₁. ¹² om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ letale, C.F₁; and et amicos, F₁. ¹⁴ om. C. ¹⁵ om. C.F₃. (*by a homœoteleuton*). ¹⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃; and poenam, F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ operatur, F₃. (*on erasure*). ¹⁸ Gallorum, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁰ uiros, C.F₁.F₃. ²¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²² et ceteras gentes, C.F₁.F₃. ²³ milia, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ baptizat, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ totius, C.F₁; toties, F₃. ²⁶ membris, F₁. ²⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁸ Uel, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ te consentit, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ te, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ adulationis, C.F₁.F₃. ³² uel, C.F₁.F₃. ³³ dure, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁴ Flete, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁵ condoleant, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁶ ploret, F₁. ³⁷ planget, C.F₁.F₃.

^y See Acts xx. 29.^u Ecclus. ix. 17.^x Rom. i. 32.^y Rom. xii. 15.^z 1 Cor. xii. 26.

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filias suas, ¹quos adhuc ²nondum gladius hostilis' interfecit, sed ³exportati ⁴sunt ⁵per longa terrarum ⁶spatia. ⁷Ut peccatum ⁸manifestæ grauetur impudentiæ, impudens ibi habitat et' abundat: ibi venundati ingenui homines Christiani in ⁹seruitutem redacti sunt, præsertim indignissimorum ¹⁰pessimorumque ¹¹atque ¹²apostatarum Pictorum.

9. Idcirco cum tristitia et mœrore ¹³vociferabor: O speciosissimi atque amantissimi fratres et filij, quos in Christo genui ¹⁴nec enumerare ¹⁵queo, quid faciam vobis? Non sum dignus ¹⁶neque hominibus subuenire. "Præualuit iniquitas iniquorum ¹⁷supra nos." ¹⁸Forte non credunt ¹⁹quod unum baptismum ²⁰percepimus ²¹et unum Deum ²²habemus: indignum est illis ²³quod de' Hibernia nati sumus: ²⁴sic ²⁵enim ²⁶aiunt . . . ^{27a} Idcirco doleo pro vobis, doleo, carissimi mei: sed iterum gaudeo intra meipsum, ²⁸quia non gratis laboravi ²⁹et peregrinatio mea in ³⁰vanum ³¹non fuit^b: et contigit scelus ³²illo in tempore' horrendum ³³et ³⁴ineffabile. Deo gratias: ³⁵credentes et' baptizati de ³⁶seculo recessistis ad paradisum. Cerno: vos migrare cœpistis ubi "nox non erit, neque luctus, neque mors ³⁷erit amplius c:" sed "exultabitis sicut vituli ³⁸resoluti, et conculcabitis iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus vestris^d."

10. Vos ergo regnabitis cum Apostolis et Prophetis atque Martyribus ³⁹et æterna regna capietis, sicut Ipse testatur ⁴⁰inquiens: "Venient ab Oriente ⁴¹et Occidente et recumbent cum Abraam et Isaac et Iacob in regno cælorum e." "Foris ⁴²canes et ⁴³venefici et homicidæ et ⁴⁴mendaces et periuri' f:" pars eorum in ⁴⁵stagno ignis æterni: non ⁴⁶enim in vanum' ait Apostolus: "Ubi iustus vix saluus erit, peccator et impius ⁴⁷et transgressor legis ubi se ⁴⁸recognoscet?"

¹ quas, C.F₁.F₃. ² g. n., C.F₁.F₃. ³ prolongati et, add. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ⁵ in, C.F₁.F₃. ⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ Ubi, C.F₁.F₃. ⁸ manifesta grauetur impudenter, C.; manifeste g. i., F₁.F₃. ⁹ seruitute, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ pessimorum, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹² apostatarumque, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ uociferabo, C.F₁. ¹⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ nequeo, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ Deo, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ super, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ Quasi extranei facti sumus, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁰ percipimus, C.F₁.F₃. ²¹ uel, C.F₁.F₃. ²² patrem, add. F₁.F₃. ²³ om. C.F₁.F₃. (Hiberia, C.F₁.F₃; Yberia, MS. of B.). ²⁴ sicut, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ ait, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ "Nonne unum Deum habetis? Quid dereliquistis unusquisque proximum suum?" add. C.F₁.F₃. (and MS. of B., but with quod for quid). ²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ uel, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ uacuum, C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ om. F₁. ³² tam, C.F₁.F₃. ³³ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁴ ineffabilem, F₁. ³⁵ creduli, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁶ celo, F₁. ³⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁸ ex uinculis, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁰ inquit, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴¹ ab, F₃. ⁴² canis, F₁. ⁴³ ueneficos, C.F₁; uenefici, F₃. (on erasure); and homicidie. and par, F₁. ⁴⁴ mendacibus periuris, C.F₁; mendaces periuri, F₃. (on erasure). ⁴⁵ stagnum, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁶ immerito, F₃; merito, C.F₁. ⁴⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁸ recognoscit, C.F₁.F₃.

^a Malachi ii. 10. ^b See Gal. ii. 2; iv. 11. ^c Rev. xxi. 4; xxii. 5. ^d Malachi iv. 2, 3.

^e Matt. viii. 11.

^f Rev. xxii. 15.

^g 1 Peter iv. 18.

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¹ Ubi erit' Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis ² rebellatoribus Christi? Ubi se videbunt, ³ qui mulierculas baptizatas ⁴ et prædia orphanorum spurcissimis satellitibus suis distribuunt' ob ⁵ miserum regnum temporale, quod utique in momento ⁶ transit sicut nubes vel fumus, qui utique vento dispergitur: ita peccatores ⁷ et fraudulentum a facie Domini peribunt: iusti autem ⁸ epulabuntur in magna constantia cum Christo, ⁹ et iudicabunt nationes, et Regibus iniquis dominabuntur in secula seculorum ^h, Amen.

II. Testificor coram Deo et angelis ¹⁰ sanctis Suis, ¹¹ quod ita erit sicut ¹² intimavit ¹³ imperitia mea'. Non mea verba ¹⁴ sunt ista', sed Dei et Apostolorum atque Prophetarum, ¹⁵ qui numquam ¹⁶ mentiti sunt, ¹⁷ quæ ego in Latinum transtuli'; ¹⁸ et "qui ¹⁹ crediderint salvi erunt', qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur i:" Deus ²⁰ enim locutus est. Quæso plurimum ut quicumque famulus Dei ²¹ promptus fuerit, ut sit gerulus litterarum harum, ut ²² nequaquam subtrahantur a nemine, sed magis potius ²³ legantur coram cunctis plebibus, et præsentem ipso Corotico. Quod si Deus ²⁴ inspirat illos ut quandoque ²⁵ de eo' resipiscant, ita ²⁶ ut vel sero pœniteant quod tam impie gesserunt. ²⁷ Homicidæ erga fratres Domini fuerunt: ²⁸ sed pœniteant' et liberent captivas baptizatas, ²⁹ quas ³⁰ antea ceperunt; ita ut ³¹ mereantur Deo viuere, et sani efficiantur hic et in æternum. Pax Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Amen.

¹ Unde enim, C.F₁.F₃. ² rebellatores, C.F₁. ³ quum, F₃.; quam, C.F₁. ⁴ præmia distribuuntur, C.F₁.; præmia distribuunt, F₃. ⁵ miserere, C.; miscere, F₁. ⁶ transeat, C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁸ epulentur, C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ quo, F₁. ¹² intimabit, F₁.; intimauerunt, F₃. (*on erasure*). ¹³ imperitie mee, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ quod ego Latinum exposui, *add.* C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ enim, *add.* C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ crediderit, saluus erit, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁰ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²¹ ut, *add.* C.F₁.F₃. ²² nequaquam subtrahatur ammine, F₁. ²³ legatur, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ inspirat, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ Deo, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ om. F₁. ²⁷ Homicida, C.F₁.; *and om.* fuerunt, F₁.F₃. ²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. (*et, also, is erased in F₃*). ²⁹ quos, C.F₃. ³⁰ ante, C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ mererentur, C.F₁.F₃. (*corrected in F₃ into mereantur*).

^h Rev. xxii. 5.^l Mark xvi. 16.

[S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

A.D. 440(?) × 493(?) *The Lorica of S. Patrick^a.*

S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.

I.

Atomriug indíu
 Niurt trén togairm Trinoit,
 Cretim Treodataid foísi[ti]n Oen-
 datad,
 In dúlemain dail.

2.

Atomriug indíu
 Niurt Gene Crist co n-a Bathius,
 Niurt Crochta co n-a Adnocul,
 Niurt n-Eseirge co Fresgabail,
 Niurt Tóniud do Brethemnas
 Bratha.

3.

Atomriug indiu
 Niurt Grád Hiruphin,
 In urlataid Aingel,
 [Ifrestul nan Archaingel,^b]
 Hi frescisin Eseirge ar cenn
 fochraice,
 In ernaighthib Huasal Athrach,
 I tairchetlaib Fátha,
 Hi praiceptaib Apstal,
 In hiresaib Fuismedach,
 In endga nóem Ingen,
 Hi ngnímaib Fer Fírean.

4.

Atomriug indiu
 Niurt nime,
 Soilse gréne,
 Etrochta snechtai,

I

I bind to myself to-day
 The strong power of an invoca-
 tion of the Trinity,
 The faith of the Trinity in
 Unity,
 The Creator of the elements.

2.

I bind to myself to-day
 The power of the Incarnation of
 Christ with that of His Baptism,
 The power of the Crucifixion, with
 that of His Burial,
 The power of the Resurrection,
 with the Ascension,
 The power of the Coming to the
 sentence of Judgment.

3.

I bind to myself to-day
 The power of the love of Seraphim,
 In the obedience of Angels,
 [In the service of Archangels,^b]
 In the hope of Resurrection unto
 reward,
 In the prayers of the noble Fathers^c,
 In the predictions of the Prophets,
 In the preaching of Apostles,
 In the faith of Confessors,
 In the purity of holy Virgins,
 In the acts of Righteous men.

4.

I bind to myself to-day
 The power of heaven,
 The light of the Sun,
 The whiteness of Snow,

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Ane thened,
 Déné lóchet,
 Luathe gáethe,
 Fudomna mara,
 Tairisem talmain,
 Cobsaidecht ailech.

The force of Fire,
 The flashing of Lightning,
 The velocity of Wind,
 The depth of the Sea,
 The stability of the Earth,
 The hardness of Rocks.

5.

Atomriug indiu
 Niurt Dé dom luamaracht,
 Cumachta Dé dom chumgabail,
 Ciall Dé domm imthús,
 Rosc Dé dom reimcise,
 Cluas Dé dom éstecht,
 Briathar Dé dom eriabrai,

Lám Dé domm imdegail,
 Intech Dé dom remthechtas,
 Sciath Dé dom dítin,
 Sochraite Dé domm anucul,

Ar intleadaib demna,
 Ar aslaigthib dualche,

Ar irnechtaib aicnid,
 Ar cech nduine mídús thrastard
 dam,
 I céin ocus in ocus,
 I n-uathed ocus hi sochaide.

6.

Tocuirius etrum thra na huile
 nert so,
 Fri cech nert n-amnas n-
 étrócar,
 Fristí dom churp ocus domm
 anmain,
 Fri tinchetla saibfáthe,
 Fri dubrechtu gentliuchta,

5.

I bind to myself to-day
 The power of God to guide me,
 The might of God to uphold me,
 The wisdom of God to teach me,
 The eye of God to watch over me,
 The ear of God to hear me,
 The word of God to give me
 speech,

The hand of God to protect me,
 The way of God to prevent me,
 The shield of God to shelter me,
 The host of God to defend me,
 Against the snares of demons,
 Against the temptations of
 vices,

Against the lusts of nature,
 Against every man who medi-
 tates injury to me,
 Whether far or near,
 With few or with many.

6.

I have set around me all these
 powers,
 Against every hostile savage
 power,
 Directed against my body and
 my soul,
 Against the incantations of
 false prophets,
 Against the black laws of
 heathenism,

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Fri sáibrechtu heretécda,
 Fri himcellacht n-idlachta,
 Fri brichta ban ocus goband
 ocus druad,
 Fri cech fiss a ra chuiliu an-
 man duini.

Against the false laws of heresy,
 Against the deceits of idolatry,
 Against the spells of women,
 and smiths, and druids,
 Against all knowledge which
 blinds the soul of man.

7.

Crist domm imdegail indíu
 Ar neim, ar loscud,

 Ar badud, ar guin,

 Conomthair ilar fochraice.

7.

Christ protect me to-day
 Against poison, against burn-
 ing,
 Against drowning, against
 wound,
 That I may receive abundant
 reward.

8.

Crist lim, Crist rium,
 Crist im degaid, Crist ìnnium,

 Crist íssum, Crist úasum,

 Crist dessum, Crist tuathum,

 Crist illius,
 Crist issius,
 Crist i neruse.

8.

Christ with me, Christ before me,
 Christ behind me, Christ within
 me,
 Christ beneath me, Christ above
 me,
 Christ at my right, Christ at my
 left,
 Christ in the fort,
 Christ in the chariot-seat,
 Christ in the poope.

9.

Crist i cridiu cech duine imm
 imrorda,
 Crist i n-gin cech óen rodóm la-
 brathar,
 Crist in cech rusc nom dercaedar,
 Crist in cech cluais rodám cloa-
 thar.

9.

Christ in the heart of every man
 who thinks of me,
 Christ in the mouth of every man
 who speaks to me,
 Christ in every eye that sees me,
 Christ in every ear that hears
 me.

10.

Atomriug indiu
 Niurt trén togairm Trinoit,

10.

I bind to myself to-day
 The strong power of an invoca-
 tion of the Trinity,

[S. PATRICI CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

Cretim Treodataid fóisitin Oen-
datad,
In dulemain [dail].

II.

Domini est salus,
Domini est salus,
Christi est salus,
Salus tua Domine sit semper
nobiscum.

^a From *Lib. Hymnorum* (MS. 7th century, acc. to Ussher, Trin. Coll., Dublin), as printed in Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 150, 151, 2nd ed., 1872. The Irish was first published by Dr. Petrie, *Essay on Tara*, pp. 57–67 (*Trans. Royal Irish Soc.*, vol. xviii.). The translation is from Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 426–429).

Patraicc do rone inn immun sa. In aim-seir Loegaire MeicNeil do rigned. Fat a denma hautemdia diden co na manchaib ar naimdib in bais ro batar in etarnid ar na cleircheib. Ocus is luirech hirse inso fri him degail cuirp ocus anma ar demnaib ocus duinib ocus dualchib. Cech duine nos geba cech dia co ninnithemleir i n-dia ni thairisfet demna fri a gnais. Bid ditin do ar cech neim ocus format. Bid comna do fri dianbas. Bid lurech dia anmain iar n-a etsecht. Patraicc ro chan so in tan do rata na hetarnaidd ar a chinn o Loegaire, na digsed do silad chreitme co Temraig; conid annsinn at chessa fiadlucht na n-etarnade comtis aige alta, ocus iarroe i n-a n-diaid i Benen. Ocus *Fæth Fiada* a hainm.

The legend referred to is mentioned in *Todd*, p. 424, from the Life of S. Patrick in the Book of Armagh.

^b Inserted by Mr. Stokes from a second copy of the Hymn in Bodl. Rawl. B. 512.

^c Patriarchs, Stokes.

^d *Leg. mídúthrastar*, Stokes.

^e "i.e. Christ when I am in the fort (at

The faith of the Trinity in
Unity,
The Creator of [the elements].

II.

Salvation is of the Lord,
Salvation is of the Lord,
Salvation is of Christ,
May thy salvation, O Lord, be
ever with us.

It was held to be S. Patrick's as early as the 8th century, being referred to as his "Canticum Scotticum" by Tirechanus (*Annot. in V. S. Patric., Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 16 a. a., quoted by Petrie and Todd). In the *Lib. Hymn.* it is prefaced as follows:—

Patrick composed this hymn. In the time of Loegaire son of Nial it was composed. The cause of its composition was to protect himself and his monks against the enemies unto death, who were in ambush against the clergy. And this is a religious armour to protect body and soul against demons and men and vices. Every person who sings it every day with all his attention on God, shall not have demons appearing to his face. It will be a protection to him against every poison and envy. It will be a safeguard to him against sudden death. It will be an armour to his soul after his death. Patrick sang this at the time that the snares were set for him by Loegaire, that he might not come to propagate the faith to Temur; so that it appeared to those who were lying in ambush that they were wild deer, and a fawn after them, that is, Benén [Benignus]. And *Fæth Fiadba* [=The Instruction of the Deer, Petrie, but Stokes renders it Guard's cry] is its name.

home), Christ when I am in the chariot-seat (travelling by land), Christ in the poop (travelling by water). See Stokes, *Irish Glosses* (580), p. 81." (*Todd, ad loc.*) The passage is translated differently in Dr. Petrie's *Essay*. And Mr. Stokes in his *Goidelica* translates it "Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height."

Before A.D. 448 (?). *Hymn of S. Sechnall (Secundinus) in praise of S. Patrick^a.*

INCIPIT YMNUS SANCTI PATRICII, EPISCOPI SCOTORUM.

Audite, omnes amantes ¹Deum, sancta merita
Uiri in Christo beati Patricii Episcopi:
Quomodo bonum ob actum ²simulatur angelis,
Perfectamque propter uitam aequatur Apostolis.

Beata Christi custodit mandata in omnibus;
Cuius opera refulgent clara inter homines,
Sanctumque cuius sequuntur exemplum mirificum;
Unde et in celis Patrem ³magnificant Dominum'.

Constans in Dei ⁴timore et fide immobilis,
Super ⁵quem edificatur ut ⁶Petrus Ecclesia;
Cuiusque Apostolatam a Deo sortitus est;
In ⁷cuius ⁸portae ⁹aduersus inferni non preualent.

Dominus illum elegit, ut doceret barbaras
Nationes; ¹⁰ut ¹¹piscaret per doctrinae retia;
¹²Ut de seculo credentes traheret ad gratiam,
¹³Dominumque sequerentur sedem ad aetheriam.

Electa Christi talenta uendit euangelica,
Quae ¹⁴Hibernas inter gentes cum ¹⁵usuris exigit;
¹⁶Nauigii huius laboris, ¹⁷tum operae, pretium,
Cum Christo regni celestis ¹⁸possessurus gaudium.

Fidelis Dei minister, insignisque nuntius,
Apostolicum exemplum formamque ¹⁹praebet bonis;
Qui tam uerbis quam ²⁰et factis ²¹plebi praedicat ²²Dei,
Ut quem dictis non conuertit, ²³actu prouocet bono.

¹ Dominum, C. ² Similatur, W, M. ³ Magnificat Deum, C. See *Matt. V. 16.*
Vers. Ital. ⁴ amore, C. ⁵ Quae, M. ⁶ Petrum, C, M, W. ⁷ Quem, C.
⁸ porta, W. ⁹ aduersum, M. ¹⁰ et, M. ¹¹ piscaretur, C. ¹² Et, M.
¹³ Dominum qui, M. ¹⁴ Euernas, B. ¹⁵ usura, W. ¹⁶ Navigiis, M. ¹⁷ Dominum,
C (probably mistaking *tum* for *dum*). ¹⁸ possedit, C. ¹⁹ om. C. ²⁰ om. W.
²¹ om. C. ²² Dominum, W. ²³ fructu, M.

[HYMNUS S. SECUNDINI.]

Gloriam habet cum Christo, honorem in seculo;
 Qui ab ²⁴omnibus ut Dei ueneratur angelus;
 Quem Deus misit ²⁵ut Paulum ad gentes Apostolum,
 Ut hominibus ducatum praeberet regno Dei.

Humilis Dei ob metum spiritu et corpore,
 Super quem bonum ob actum ²⁶requiescit Dominus;
 Cuiusque ²⁷iusta in carne Christi portat stigmata;
 In Cuius sola ²⁸sustentans gloriatur ²⁹in cruce.

Impiger credentes pascit dapibus celestibus,
 Ne qui ³⁰uidentur cum Christo in uia ³¹deficiant;
 Quibus erogat, ³²ut panes, uerba euangelica;
³³In cuius multiplicantur, ut manna, in manibus:

³⁴Kastam qui' custodit carnem ob amorem Domini,
 Quam carnem templum parauit Sanctoque Spiritui;
 A Quo constanter cum mundis possidetur actibus,
 Quam ³⁵ut hostiam placentem uiuam offert Domino:

Lumenque mundi accensum ingens euangelicum,
 In candelabro leuatum, ³⁶toti fulgens seculo,
 Ciuitas regis munita supra montem posita,
 Copia in qua ³⁷est multa quam ³⁸Dominus possidet.

Maximus ³⁹nanque in regno celorum uocabitur,
 Qui quod uerbis docet sacris, factis adimplet bonis;
 Bono ⁴⁰precedit exemplo ⁴¹formamque fidelium,
 Mundoque in corde habet ad ⁴²Deum fiduciam.

⁴³Nomen Domini' audenter ⁴⁴annunciat gentibus,
 Quibus ⁴⁵lauacri salutis aeternam dat gratiam;
 Pro ⁴⁶quorum orat ⁴⁷delictis ad ⁴⁸Deum ⁴⁹quotidie;
 Pro quibus ut Deo dignas ⁵⁰immolatque hostias.

Omnem pro Diuina lege mundi spernit gloriam,
⁵¹Que cuncta ad ⁵²cuius mensam estimat ⁵³ciscilia;
 Nec ingruenti mouetur mundi huius ⁵⁴fulmine,
 Sed in aduersis laetatur, cum pro Christo patitur.

²⁴ hominibus, B. ²⁵ om. B. ²⁶ requiescet, B. ²⁷ iuxta, C; sua, W. ²⁸ susten-
 dans, B; sustentante, C. ²⁹ om. C. ³⁰ Misprinted ridetur in W. ³¹ deficient, W.
³² om. C. ³³ om. W. ³⁴ Castum qui, B; Castamque, C. ³⁵ et, B, M. ³⁶ toto, M.
³⁷ et, C. ³⁸ Deus, W. ³⁹ namque, C, M, W. ⁴⁰ procedit, C. ⁴¹ formaque, C.
⁴² Dominum, C. ⁴³ Nomenque Dei, M. ⁴⁴ adnuntiat, M. ⁴⁵ lauacris, M.
⁴⁶ quarum, B, W. ⁴⁷ dilictis, B. ⁴⁸ Dominum, C. ⁴⁹ cotidie, B, M. ⁵⁰ ymolat-
 que, B. ⁵¹ Qui, M, W. ⁵² eius, W; Christi, C. ⁵³ quisquillas, C; quisquilia, M, W.
⁵⁴ flumine, W.

[HYMNUS S. SECUNDINI.]

Pastor bonus ⁵⁵ac⁵⁶ fidelis gregis ⁵⁸euangelici;
 Quem Deus Dei elegit custodire populum,
 Suamque pascere plebem Diuinis dogmatibus;
 Pro qua ad Christi exemplum suam ⁵⁷tradidit animam.

Quem pro meritis Saluator prouexit pontificem,
 Ut in celesti moneret clericos ⁵⁸militia;
 Celestem quibus annonam erogat cum uestibus,
 Quod in Diuinis impletur sacrisque affatibus.

Regis nuntius inuitans credentes ad nuptias;
 Qui ornatur uestimento ⁵⁹nuptiale indutus;
 Qui celeste ⁶⁰aurit uinum in uasis celestibus,
 Propinansque Dei plebem ⁶¹spirituali poculo.

Sacrum inuenit thesaurum sacro in uolumine,
 Saluatorisque in carne ⁶²Dietatem ⁶³preuidit;
 Quem thesaurum emit sanctis perfectisque meritis;
⁶⁴Israel uocatur ⁶⁵huius anima uidens Deum.

Testis Domini fidelis in lege catholica,
 Cuius uerba sunt Diuinis ⁶⁶condita oraculis;
 Ne humane ⁶⁷putrent carnes ⁶⁸essaeque a uermibus,
 Sed ⁶⁹celeste ⁷⁰salluntur sapore ad uictimam.

Uerus cultor et insignis agri euangelici,
 Cuius semina uidentur Christi ⁷¹euangelia;
 Quae ⁷²Diuino serit ore in aures prudentium,
⁷³Quorumque corda ac mentes Sancto arat Spiritu.

Xps: illum Sibi ⁷⁴legit in terris uicarium,
⁷⁵Qui de gemino ⁷⁶captiuos liberat seruitio;
 Plerosque de seruitute quos redemit hominum,
 Innumeros de ⁷⁷Zabuli ⁷⁸absoluet dominio.

Ymnos cum Apocalipsi Psalmosque cantat Dei,
 Quosque ad edificandum Dei tractat populum;
⁷⁹Quam legem in Trinitate sacri credit Nominis,
⁸⁰Tribusque Personis Unam docetque Substantiam.

⁵⁵ et, M. ⁵⁶ euangelicae, B. ⁵⁷ tradit, M. ⁵⁸ *Misprinted* militiae in C.
⁵⁹ nuptiali, B, C, M, W. ⁶⁰ haurit, C, M, W. ⁶¹ spiritale poculum, M; spiritali
 poculo, W. ⁶² Pietatem, C; Deitatem, M, W. ⁶³ peruidet, C; peruidit, M.
⁶⁴ Hisrael, B; Israhel, M. ⁶⁵ eius, B. ⁶⁶ candida, M. ⁶⁷ putant, M. ⁶⁸ esaeque,
 C; escaque, W; aessequae, M. ⁶⁹ coelesti, M, W. ⁷⁰ salientur, C; alleantur, M;
 sallientur, W. ⁷¹ euangelii, C. ⁷² Diuina, B. ⁷³ Quorum quoque, M.
⁷⁴ elegit, M, W. ⁷⁵ Quem, C. ⁷⁶ captiuum, C. ⁷⁷ Stabuli, W. ⁷⁸ absoluit, B,
 W; absoluit, C, M. ⁷⁹ Quem, C. ⁸⁰ Tribuque, B.

Zona Domini precinctus diebus ⁸¹et noctibus,
 Sine intermissione Deum orat Dominum;
 Cuius ingentis laboris ⁸²percepturus ⁸³premium,
 Cum Apostolis ⁸⁴regnabit ⁸⁵sanctus super ⁸⁶Israel.

⁸⁷Audite omnes'.

[In memoria eterna erit iustus;
 Ab auditione mala non timebit ⁸⁸.

Patricii laudes semper dicamus,
 Ut nos cum illo defendat Deus.

Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri,
 Ueni, sancte Patricii, saluos nos facere ⁸⁹.]

⁸¹ ac, B. ⁸² Praecepturus, W. ⁸³ praemia, C. ⁸⁴ regnauit, B. ⁸⁵ sanctis, W.
⁸⁶ Israel, M. ⁸⁷ Audite et rl., B. ⁸⁸ Ps. cxi. 7. ⁸⁹ B. om. the third of these
 couplets or antiphons, and adds at the beginning of them, Or: = Oratio, or Oremus. C. om. the
 first, and adds a third, viz. "Patricius sanctus Episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus, Ut deleantur
 protinus peccata que commisimus." M. gives this third (omitting the word sanctus), with that
 in the text which begins *Patricii laudes*, but om. the others. W. om. all.

^a Printed from the *Lib. Hymn.* at Trin. Coll., Dublin, by Dr. Todd (*Bk. of Hymns of Anc. Ch. of Irel.*, P. I. pp. 11–24): also by Bishop Graves, *Catholic Layman*, vol. ii. no. 23, p. 134, Dublin 1853. The Hymn also occurs in the *Leabhar Breac* (also at Dublin), here designated B; in Colgan (*Tr. Tb.*, p. 210), who first printed it, C; in Muratori's *Antiphon. Benchorensis* (*Anecd. Ambros.*, IV. 127–159), M; and in Ware (*App. to Opusc. S. Patric.*, pp. 146–150), W: each of these copies resting upon independent MS. authority. And their various readings are accordingly here given in the notes, from Dr. Todd. Villanueva simply reprinted the Hymn from

Colgan and Ware. It is also in the MS. *Lib. Hymnor.* belonging to the Franciscan monastery at Dublin, lately brought there from Rome; and in the MS. consuetudinary of S. Patrick's, Dublin (14th cent.), now in the Univ. Lib., Cambridge (*Dr. Reeves*). S. Sechnall's death is placed by *Ann. Ult.* at A.D. 448. His Hymn was well known before the 8th century, being mentioned by Tirechanus as the Hymn of S. Patrick (*Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 16, a. a). And it is held to be genuine, and to have been written in S. Patrick's lifetime, by the best Irish antiquarian scholars. See Dr. Todd's copious notes for its history and author.

[The four documents above printed,—viz. S. Patrick's two tracts and Hymn, and S. Sechnall's Hymn,—appear to be the only authentic and contemporary documents of this Period: The tract *De Duodecim Abusionibus Sæculi* (in Ware's *Opusc. Patric.* and in Villanueva's, attributed also to S. Cyprian and to S. Augustine) was current among the Irish as S. Patrick's as early as the beginning of the 8th century (*Cod. Can. Hib.*, lib. xxiv. c. 3). And that *De Tribus Habitaculis* (likewise in Ware and Villanueva, and in the App. to S. Augustine, vol. vi.) was also assigned to S. Patrick, but not by Irish authorities. Internal evidence is conclusive in referring both to a later writer (see Todd's *S. Patrick*, p. 484). For S. Fiacc's Hymn, see below in Appendix C.]

APPENDIX A.

CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.

*Canons attributed to a Synod of Bishops, consisting of S. Patrick,
Auxilius, and Isserninus*^a.

INCIPIT SINODUS EPISCOPORUM, ID EST, PATRICII, AUXILII, ISSERNINI.—Gratias agimus Deo Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. *Presbiteris et diaconibus et omni clero*, PATRICIUS, AUXILIUS, ISSERNINUS, EPISCOPI, salutem.

Satius nobis negligentes præmonere, quam culpæ quæ facta sunt; Solamone dicente, “Melius est arguere [quam] irasci^b.” Exempla definitionis nostræ inferius conscripta sunt, et sic inchoant:—

1. Si quis in questionem captivis quæsierit in plebe suo jure sine permissione, meruit excommunicari^c.

2. Lectores denique cognoscant, unusquisque, ecclesiam in qua psallat.

3. Clericus vagus non sit in plebe.

4. Si quis permissionem acciperit, et collectum sit pretium, non plus exigat quam quod necessitas poscit^d.

5. Si quid supra manserit, ponat super altare pontificis, ut detur alii indigenti^e.

6. Quicumque clericus ab hostiario usque ad sacerdotem sine tunica visus fuerit, atque turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem non tegat, et si non more Romano capilli ejus tonsi sint^e, et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulerit, pariter a laicis contempnentur, et ab Ecclesia separentur.

7. Quicumque clericus ussus^f, negligentiae causa, ad collectas mane vel vespere non occurrerit, alienus habeatur, nisi forte jugo servitutis sit detentus.

8. Clericus si pro gentili homine fideiutor fuerit in quacunque quantitate, et si contigerit (quod mirum non est) per astutiam aliquam gentilis ille clerico fallat, rebus suis clericus ille solvat debitum; nam si armis compugnauerit cum illo, merito extra Ecclesiam computetur^g.

9. Monachus et virgo, unus ab hinc, et alia ab aliunde, in uno hospitio non commaneant, nec in uno curru a villa in villam discurrant, nec adsidue invicem confabulationem exercent.

10. Si [quis] incœptum boni operis ostenderit in psallendo, et nunc

[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

intermisit, et comam habeat; ab Ecclesia excludendus, nisi statui priori se restituerit.

11. Quicumque clericus ab aliquo excommunicatus fuerit, et alius eum suscipiat, ambo cœquali pœnitentia utantur.

12. Quicumque Christianus excommunicatus fuerit, nec ejus elimosina recipiatur^h.

13. Elimosinam a gentibus offerendam in Ecclesiam recipi non licet^h.

14. Christianus qui occiderit, aut fornicationem fecerit, aut more gentilium ad aruspiciem juraverit, per singula cremina annum pœnitentiæ agat; impleto, cum testibus veniat, anno pœnitentiæ, et postea resolvetur a sacerdoteⁱ.

15. Et qui furtum fecerit, demedium pœniteat; viginti diebus cum pane; et, si fieri potest, rapta repræsentet; sic in Ecclesiam renuetur^j.

16. Christianus qui crediderit esse lamiam in sæculo^k, quæ interpretatur striga, anathema[ti]zandus, quicumque super animam famam istam imposuerit; nec ante in Ecclesiam recipiendus, quam ut idem creminis, quod fecit, sua iterum voce revocet^l, et sic pœnitentiam cum omni diligentia agat.

17. Virgo quæ voverit Deo permanet^m kasta, et postea nubserit carnalem sponsum, excommunis sit, donec convertatur: si conversa fuerit, et dimiserit adulteriumⁿ, pœnitentiam agat; et postea non in una domo nec in una villa habitent.

18. Si quis excommunis fuerit, nec nocte pascharum in ecclesiam non introeat, donec pœnitentiam recipiat.

19. Mulier Christiana, quæ acciperit virum honestis nuptiis, et postmodum discesserit a primo, et junxerit se adulterio^o; quæ hæc fecit, excommunis sit.

20. Christianus qui fraudat debitum cujuslibet ritu gentilium, excommunis sit, donec solvat debitum.

21. Christianus cui dereliquerit aliquis, et provocat eum in iudiciu^p, et non in Ecclesiam, ut ibi examinetur causa; qui sic fecerit, alienus sit.

22. Si quis tradiderit filiam suam viro honestis nuptiis, et amaverit alium, et consentit filiæ suæ, et acceperit dotem; ambo ab Ecclesia excludantur.

23. Si quis presbiterorum ecclesiam ædificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum pontificem, ut eam consecret; quia sic decet.

24. Si quis advena ingressus fuerit plebem, non ante baptizet^q, neque offerat, neque consecret, nec ecclesiam ædificet, [do]nec permissionem accipiat ab Episcopo: nam qui a gentibus sperat permissionem, alienus sit^r.

[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

25. Si quæ a religiosis hominibus donata fuerint, diebus illis quibus pontifex in singulis habitaverit Ecclesiis, pontificalia dona (sicut mos antiquus) ordinare ad Episcopum pertinebunt, sive ad usum^s necessarium, sive egentibus distribuendum, prout ipse Episcopus moderabit.

26. Si quis vero clericus contra venerit, et dona invadere fuerit deprehensus, ut turpis lucri cupidus ab Ecclesia sequestretur.

27. Clericus Episcopi in plebe quislibet novus ingressor, baptizare et offerre illum non licet, nec aliquid agere; qui si sic non faciat, excommunis sit.

28. Si quis clericorum excommunis fuerit, solus, non in eadem domo cum fratribus, orationem facit, nec offer[r]e nec consecrare licet, donec se faciat emendatum; qui si sic non fecerit, dupliciter vindicetur^t.

29. Si quis fratrum accipere gratiam Dei voluerit, non ante baptizetur quam ut XLmum^u agat.

30. Episcopus quislibet, qui de sua in alteram progreditur parruchiam, nec ordinare præsumat, nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo, qui in suo principatu^v est; die Dominica offerat tantum susceptione, et obsequi hic contentus sit.

31. Si quis conduxerit e duobus clericis, quos discordare convenit per discordiam aliquam, prolatum uni e duobus hostem ad interficiendum, homicidam congruum est nominari: qui clericus ab omnibus rectis habetur alienus^w.

32. Si quis clericorum voluerit iuvare captivo, cum suo pretio illi subveniat; nam si per furtum illum inviolaverit, blasphemantur multi clerici per unum latronem; qui sic fecerit, excommunis sit.

33. Clericus qui de Britanis ad nos venit sine epistola, etsi habitet in plebe, non licitum ministrare.

34. Diaconus nobiscum similiter, qui inconsulto suo abbate sine literis in aliam parruchiam absentat^x, nec cibum ministrare decet; et a suo presbitero, quem contempsit, per pœnitentiam vindicetur. Et monachus inconsulto abbate vagulus debet^y vindicari.

Finiunt Sinodi Distituta^z. [MS. C.C.C.C. 279 (*olim* O. 20): and in *S.*, I. 52-54; and *W.*, I. 2, 3. Also in *Ware, Opusc. S. Patric.* pp. 42-46.]

^a Of the canons here printed, under S. Patrick's name, this first series, which occurs as a whole, and is attributed to a single synod, is undoubtedly Irish. How far they are S. Patrick's, see below, in note ^z. The amount of credence due to the heading, which assigns them to Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, is not great (see however below in note ^r): although the omission of the name of Secundinus may be accounted for, by his comparatively early death, which the Ann. Ult.

assign to A.D. 448. There is another (very imperfect) copy of them (15th century) in MS. C.C.C.C. 298, no. 22. The five miscellaneous canons, which are appended to them in Wilkins as S. Patrick's, are all to be found in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, printed below in its place, either briefly or at length; but only two of them, that printed here in Sect. II. no. 1 (at greater length than in the *Cod. Can.*) as the first of S. Patrick's single canons, and one relating to theft, are assigned

[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

to S. Patrick in that code. Of the others, one is from Isidore, another from an "Irish Synod," and the remaining one is simply a verse of S. Paul to Timothy. The collection in Ware (also in *Wilkins*, I. 6, 7) is to be found entirely in the code just referred to, and under S. Patrick's name. The Index to that code will guide the reader both to these, and to several others not in Ware. The second series here given, contains certain single canons attributed to S. Patrick, from various sources; omitting however those which will be found in full in the Code, in order to avoid repetition. The remaining or third series given here (and in *Wilkins*), which is printed by Spelman from a MS. given him by Ussher, is certainly not S. Patrick's, but is nevertheless Irish (see below, p. 333, note a). Strictly speaking, all these should have been printed with the Code so often referred to; since none of them can well be assigned to an earlier date than the end of the seventh century. But for convenience' sake, those collections which bear S. Patrick's name as a whole, and the single canons so designated, which are not in the *Cod. Can.*, or are only there in part, are placed here after S. Patrick's undoubted writings.

^b *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, LXV. 17.

^c *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLI. 25: adding "abbatis" after "permissione," and reading "redemptionem" for "in questionem."

^d *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLI. 26: adding "pontificis" after "permissionem."

^e The part of this canon relating to the tonsure is in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, LI. 7, and is there also attributed to S. Patrick. It clearly cannot be really his.

^f i. e. jussus.

^g *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXII. 2.

^h *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXIX. 8: reading "clericus" for "Christianus."

ⁱ *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVII. 10: reading "interrogat" for "juraverit," while *Wilkins* after Spelman reads "meaverit."

^j *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVIII. 8.

^k Corrected by Spelman and *Wilkins* into "speculo."

^l Corrected in the MS. *prima manu* into "revocat."

^m Corrected by *Wilkins* into "permanere."

ⁿ Corrected by *Wilkins* into "adulterum."

^o Corrected by Spelman and *Wilkins* into "adultero."

^p Miswritten in MS., "imductum."

^q "baptizat," in MS.

^r *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLII. 4: as from "Synodus Patricii."

^s i. e. "usum."

^t *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXIX. 9.

^u "quadragintessimum," Spelman.

^v "principatum," in MS.

^w *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, X. (a). 1: but with no reference either to S. Patrick or Ireland, and with a different reading.

^x "adsentiat," in Spelman.

^y "decet," in Spelman.

^z The general date of these canons must obviously be placed at a period when there was a settled Church in Ireland, yet while heathenism still ruled in parts of the country; when the Britons and the Irish (cc. 6, 33) had become estranged, *scil.* by the adoption of Roman customs by the latter (north as well as south) while the former retained the Celtic ones, i. e. at least after A.D. 716 but before A.D. 777 or 809 (see in vol. I. p. 204: and, lastly, when the Church had existed long enough in Ireland for a custom to arise and to have become "antiquus" (c. 25). The first years of the eighth century are the earliest possible date that can be assigned to the collection as a whole. It is obviously out of the question to trust seriously to the dates of the *Annals* (death of Isserinus A.D. 469, of Auxilius A.D. 460, and of Secundinus, who is not mentioned, A.D. 448) compared with the heading of the alleged synod; which, together, point to the date of A.D. 448 x 460. The numbering of the canons is due to Spelman. It is to be added, however, that the short preface together with canons 1, 4, 5, part of 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 24, 28, are quoted as S. Patrick's (24 as from "Synodus Patricii") in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* of the beginning of the eighth century, printed below in its place; although it is impossible that one at least of them, *sc.* 6 (so far as relates to the Roman tonsure), can be really S. Patrick's.

II. Single Canons attributed to S. Patrick.

I. PATRICIUS, DE UNITATE ET SUBDITORUM * * * . Quis ergo audet scindere unitatem, quam nemo hominum solvere vel reprehendere potest a? "Multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum et anima una, et nulla erat separatio in eis, nec quisquam ex bonis suis dicebat esse aliquid, sed erant illis omnia communia: [...] gratia quoque erat magna super illos omnes;

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nec vero in eis aliquis indigens; nam quicumque possessores agrorum aut domorum erant, vendentes adferebant pretia illorum et ponebant ante Apostolorum [pedes], et dividebatur unicuique ut opus erat [.....]. Quidam autem vir, nomine Annanias, cum Safirra uxore sua [...]; et adferens partem aliquam ante pedes Apostolorum [...]: dixit autem Petrus illi, Annanias, cur implevit Satanas cor tuum ad mentiendum Spiritui Sancto, ut fraudem faceres de pretio agri? Nonne manens tibi manebat, et venditum in tua potestate erat? Quare posuisti in corde tuo facere hoc malum? Non es hominibus mentitus sed Deo. Audiens autem Annanias hæc verba cecidit et expiravit^b.” [MS. C.C.C.C. 279 (*olim* O. 20), fol. 59-62: and partly in S., I. 54; and W., I. 3, 4.]

^a These words are cited as from “sindus” (i. e. probably an Irish synod), in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XX. 9; but without the quo-

tation from the Acts.

^b Acts iv. 32-35; v. 1-5 (not Vulg.).

2. *Canon of S. Patrick from the Book of Armagh*^a. [fol. 21 b. b.]

Item quicumque similiter per industriam atque injuriam vel nequitiam malum quodque opus contra familiam seu paruchiam ejus perfecerit, aut prædicta ejus insignia dispexerit, ad libertatem examinis ejusdem Airdmachæ præsulis recte judicantis perveniet caussa totius negotiationis, cæteris aliorum judicibus prætermis- sis.

Item quæcumque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judicibus, ad cathedram Archiepiscopi Hibernensium, id est, Patricii, atque hujus antestitis examinationem recte refferenda.

Si vero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit, caussa prædictæ negotiationis, ad sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri Apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romæ urbis habentem.

Hii sunt qui de hoc decreverunt, id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus. Post vero exitum Patricii sancti alumni sui valde ejusdem libros conscripserunt.

^a Printed also in *Appendix CXVII.*, pp. 611, 612, of Mr. O'Curry's *Lectures on Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1861. Part of the passage is in *Ussher, Relig. of Ancient Irish*, c. VIII., *Opp.* IV. 330, note. And a part of it is also in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XIX. 5. The date of the canon is obviously

after the primacy of Armagh had been claimed at least, if not established: probably in the 8th century. The MS. of the Book of Armagh is dated by Irish scholars, probably, in A.D. 807 (see *Todd, S. Patrick*, p. 288 n., and Dr. Graves as there quoted).

[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

III. *Canons of a Second Synod attributed to S. Patrick*^a.I. *De habitatione cum fratribus peccatoribus.*

De eo quod mandastis de habitatione cum fratribus peccatoribus, audite Apostolum dicentem, "Cum hujusmodi ne cibum quidem sumere¹." Non ejus escas sumas cum eo. Cæterum si bos sis et trituras, hoc est, si doctorem es et doces, "non obturatur tibi os²," et "dignus es mercede tua³," sed "oleum peccatoris non impinguet caput tuum⁴," sed corripe adhuc et argue.

II. *De observationibus*^b *eorum.*

Contentus tegmento et alimento tuo, cætera dona iniquorum reproba⁵, quia non sumit lucerna nisi quod^c alitur.

III. *De pœnitentia post ruinas.*

Statuitur, ut abbas videat, cui attribuetur potestas alligandi et solvendi; sed aptior est, juxta Scripturæ exempla, veniam. Si vero cum fletu^d et lamentatione et lugubri cum veste sub custodia, pœnitentia brevis quam longa, et remissa cum temperamentis^e.

IV. [*De excommunicato repellendo*^f.]

Audi Dominum dicentem, "Si tibi non audierit, sit tibi velut gentilis et publicanus⁶." Non maledices, sed repelles excommunicatum a communione, et mensa, et missa, et pace; et si hæreticus est, post unam correptionem devita⁷.

^a The following (the mention of "D. Rothæus" excepted, which Wilkins has added,—he was titular Bishop of Ossory) is Spelman's account (as quoted in Wilkins) of the source whence the canons here given are derived. "Secundam hanc S. Patricii synodum ex Andegavensi bibliotheca transcriptum D[avid] Rothæo communicavit aliquando Jacobus Sirmondus, quorum ille eam ad reverendissimum patrem D. Jacobum Armachanum Archiepiscopum Primatem Hiberniæ misit, et eandem mihi præsul idem eruditione et pietate spectatissimus 1 Aprilis, 1628. De tempore autem, quo sit habita, neuter meminit, nec e synodo deprehenditur" (*Spelm. Conc.*, I. 59). The canons in the two preceding articles, and those in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* printed further on, and those in this

(so called) Second Synod, are indisputably Irish; but hardly S. Patrick's. Of this "Second Synod," cc. III., VIII., XIV., XXIII., XXIV., XXV., XXX., occur (as marked in the notes) in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, and are there referred in most cases (not to S. Patrick, but) to a Roman Synod as adopted by an Irish one. And can. XXVII. of the list is directly contrary to S. Patrick's own "Confessio" (above, p. 308, l. 21).

^b "oblationibus," in Wilkins.

^c Corrected by Spelman and Wilkins into "quo."

^d "flem," in MS., corrected by Spelman into "fletu."

^e *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLVI. 8; but with a varied text.

^f Added by Spelman.

¹ 1 Cor. v. 11.

² Deut. xxv. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 9.

³ 1 Tim. v. 18.

⁴ Ps. cxl. 5. V.

⁵ Ecclus. xxxiv. 23.

⁶ Matt. xviii. 17.

⁷ Tit. iii. 10.

V. *De suspectis causis.*

Audi Dominum dicentem, "Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem¹;" —hoc est, "donec veniat, Qui manifestabit consilia cordium¹;" —ne iudicium ante diem iudicii facias. Vide Iudam ad mensam Domini, et latronem in paradiso.

VI. *De vindictis Ecclesiæ.*

Audi item Dominum dicentem, "Qui effuderit sanguinem innocentem, sanguis ipsius effundetur²;" sed ab eo qui portat gladium; dictator^g autem vindictæ innocens habetur. De cæteris autem per legem Evangelicam, ab eo loco in quo ait, "Et eum qui aufert aliquid a te, ne repetas³;" sed libenter, si ipse quid referat, humiliter recipias.

VII. *De baptismatis incertis.*

Statuunt ne rebaptizati [sint], qui symboli traditione[m] a quocunque acceperunt, quia non inficit semen seminantis iniquitas. Sin vero, non est rebaptizare, sed baptizare. Non abluendos^h autem lapsos a fide credamus, nisi per impositionem manus accepi[anturⁱ].

VIII. *De reis autem abstractis ab Ecclesia.*

Non ad reorum defensionem facta est Ecclesia; sed iudicibus persuadendum est, ut^k spiritali morte eos occiderent, qui ad sinum matris Ecclesiæ confugiunt^l.

IX. *De lapsis post gradum.*

Audi canonica instituta. Qui cum gradu cecidit, sine gradu surgat. Contentus nomine tantum, amittat ministerium: nisi qui tantum a conspectu Domini peccans non recessit.

X. *desideratur.*XI. *De separatione sexuum post lapsum.*

Consideret unusquisque in conscientia sua, si amor et desiderium cessavit peccati, quia corpus mortuum non inficit corpus alterius mortui; sin vero, separentur.

^g "dictatur," in MS., and Spelman.

^h Corrected by Wilkins into "absolue-
dos."

ⁱ So Wilkins. "Accepi" in Spelman from

the MS.

^k Corrected by Wilkins into "ne!" wrongly,
as appears by the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*

^l *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVII. 14.

¹ Matt. xiii. 30; 1 Cor. iv. 5.

² Gen. ix. 6.

³ Matt. v. 42.

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XII. *De oblatione pro defunctis.*

Audi Apostolum dicentem, "Est autem peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis¹." Et Dominus, "Nolite donare sanctum canibus²." Qui enim in vita sua non merebitur^m sacrificium accipere, quomodo post mortem illi poterit adjuvare?

XIII. *De sacrificiis.*

In nocte Paschæ, si fas est ferre foras, non foras fertur, sed fidelibus deferaturⁿ. Quid aliud significat quod in una domo sumitur agnus, quam [quod^o] sub uno fidei culmine creditur et communicatur Christus?

XIV. *De abstinentia votiva vel legali a cibis p.*

Statutum, ut [post] Christi adventum sponsi nullas ratas leges inveniatur jejunii. Quid autem inter Novatianum et Christianum interest, nisi quod Novatianus indesinenter, Christianus vero per tempus abstineat; ut locus, et tempus, et persona per omnia observetur^q.

XV. *De relinquenda vel docenda patria.*

Docenda patria prius, per exemplum Domini; et derelinquenda postea si non proficiet^r, juxta exemplum Apostoli. Sed qui potest facere^s, licet periclitatur, ubique doceat, et se ostendat; qui vero non potest, taceat et abscondat. Alius quippe ab Jesu in domum suam mittitur, alius sequi jubetur³.

XVI. *De falsis Episcopis.*

Qui non secundum Apostolum electus est ab altero Episcopo, est dammandus; deinde ad reliquam plebem declinandus et degradandus.

XVII. *De præposito monachorum.*

Monachi sunt, qui solitarii sine terrenis opibus habitant sub potestate Episcopi vel abbatis. Non sunt autem monachi, sed vactro-periti^t (hoc

^m Corrected by Wilkins into "merebatur."

ⁿ Altered by Wilkins into "deferitur."

^o Added by Wilkins.

^p So Wilkins by conjecture. The MS. in Spelman has, "De abstinenti insoliti lequat a cibis."

^q *Cod. Can. Hibern., XI.* 15.

^r Altered by Wilkins into "proficiat."

^s Altered by Wilkins into "proficere."

^t "Bactro-peratæ," from *βάκτρον* and *πήρα*, is a contemptuous name for "philosophi," applied by S. Jerom (*in Matt. xix.*) to corrupt monks: who, as he proceeds to say, were "contemptores sæculi." For "solliciti," in the text, should probably be read "sæculi." But even so amended, some words seem to have dropped out of the text.

¹ I John v. 16.

² Matt. vii. 6.

³ Luke viii. 39; Matt. ix. 9; &c.

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est, contemptores solliciti). Ad vitam perfectam in ætate perfecta (hoc est, a viginti annis) debet unusquisque constringi, non adtestando sed voto perficiendo: ut est illud, "Unusquisque sicut proposuit corde suo faciat¹," et, "Ut vota mea reddam in conspectu Domini²," et reliqua. Quo voto vivitur, situs locorum coartat, si superabundantia in omnibus devitetur in vita; quia in frigore et nuditate, in fame et siti, in vigiliis et jejuniis, vocati sunt.

XVIII. *De tribus seminibus Evangeliorum*³.

Centesium Episcopi et doctores, qui omnibus omnia sunt; sexagesimum clerici, et viduæ, qui continentes sunt; tricesimum laici, qui fideles sunt, qui perfecte Trinitatem credunt. His amplius non est in messe Domini. Monachos vero et virgines cum centesimis jungimus.

XIX. *Qua ætate baptizandi sunt.*

Octavo die chatechumeni sunt; postea, solemnitatibus Domini baptizantur, id est, Pascha, et Pentecoste, et Epiphania.

XX. *De parrociis.*

Cum monachis non est dicendum, quorum malum est inauditum, qui unitatem vero plebis non incongrue suscepimus.

XXI. *De retinendis vel dimittendis monachis.*

Unusquisque fructum suum in Ecclesia, in qua imbutus est, perfruatur; nisi causa majoris profectus ad alterius^u ferre permissa^x abbatis cogat. Si vero ex[t]i[t]erit^y causa utilior, cum benedictione dicatur, "Ecce Agnus Dei⁴;" non quod^z sua sunt singuli quærentes, sed quæ Iesu Christi⁵: vocationis^a autem causam non permittunt^b subditos discurrere.

XXII. *De sumenda Eucharistia post lapsum.*

Post examinationem carceris^c sumenda est; maxime autem in nocte Paschæ, in qua qui non communicat, fidelis non est. Ideo brevia sunt et stricta apud eos spatia, ne anima fidelis intereat tanto tempore jejuna medicinæ; Domino dicente, "Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, non habebitis vitam in vobis⁶."

^u So corrected by Wilkins: "adulteris," in Spelman.

^x Altered by Wilkins into "permisso."

^y So altered by Wilkins: "exierit," in Spelman.

^z Corrected by Wilkins into "quæ."

^a "vacationis" is a needless correction.

^b Altered by Wilkins into "permittant." For "discurrere," Wilkins has "discutere."

^c *leg.* "carnis," Wilkins.

¹ 2 Cor. ix. 7 (not Vulg.).

³ Matt. xiii. 23; &c.

² Ps. cxv. 18, &c. Vulg. ("in conspectu *populi*").

⁴ John i. 36.

⁵ Phil. ii. 21.

⁶ John vi. 54.

XXIII. *De juramento.*

“Non jurare omnino¹.” De hoc consequente^d lectionis series docet non adjurandam esse creaturam aliam, nisi Creatorem: ut prophetis mos est,—“Vivit Dominus,” et, “Vivit anima mea,” et, “Vivit Dominus Cui assisto hodie².” Finis autem contradictionis est nisi Domino³. Omni^e enim quod amat homo, hoc et juratur^f.

XXIV. *De contentione duorum absque testibus.*

Statuunt, ut per quatuor sancta evangelia, antequam communicet, testatur, quid probatur; et deinde sub iudice fama relinquatur^g.

XXV. *De toro fratris defuncti.*

Audi decreta synodi,—“Superstes^h frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat:”—Domino dicente, “Erunt duo in carne una⁴:” ergo uxor fratris tui soror tua estⁱ.

XXVI. *De meretrice conjuge.*

Audi Dominum dicentem,—“Qui adhæret meretrici, unum corpus efficitur⁵.” Item,—“Adultera lapidetur⁶:”—id est, huic vitio moriatur, ut desinat crescere quæ non desinit mœchari. Item, si adulterata fuerit mulier, nunquid revertitur ad virum suum priorem. Item, “Non licet viro dimittere uxorem, nisi ob causam fornicationis⁷:”—ac si dicat, ob hanc causam; unde, si ducat alteram velut post mortem prioris, non vetant.

XXVII. *De voluntate virginis vel patris in conjugio.*

Quod vult pater, faciat virgo, quia caput mulieris vir. Sed requirenda est a patre voluntas virginis, dum “Deus reliquit hominem in manu consilii sui⁸.”

XXVIII. *De primis vel secundis votis.*

Eadem ratione observanda sunt prima vota, et prima conjugia, ut secundis prima non sint irrita, nisi fuerint adulterata.

^d *leg.* consequentia, and *om.* series: the words are from S. Jerom.

^e *leg.* omne.

^f *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXIV. 3.

^g *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XV. 14; reading “flamma” for “fama.”

^h “super istis,” in Spelman.

ⁱ *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLV. 35.

¹ Matt. v. 34.

² 1 Sam. xxv. 26; 1 Kings xvii. 11 (not Vulg.); &c. &c.

³ Hebr. vi. 16.

⁴ Gen. ii. 24; Matt. xix. 5; &c.

⁵ 1 Cor. vi. 16.

⁶ Levit. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22.

⁷ Matt. xix. 9.

⁸ Ecclus. xv. 14.

XXIX. *De consanguinitate in conjugio.*

Intelligite quid Lex loquitur, non minus nec plus: quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur, nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse.

XXX. *De vindicandis adsuetis.*

Nunquam vetitum^k; licet. Verum observandæ sunt leges jubilei, hoc est, quinquaginta anni, ut non adfirmetur^l incerta vice ratio^m temporis. Et ideo omnis negotia[tio] subscriptione Romanorum confirmanda estⁿ.

XXXI. *De gentilibus qui ante baptismum credunt, quam pœnitentiam habeant.*

Remittuntur quidem omnium peccata in baptismo; sed qui cum fidei conscientia infidelis temporarius^o vixit, ut fidelis peccator judicandus est.

Finit Patricii Synodus. [S., I. 55-59; W., I. 4-6; Ware, pp. 31-39.]

^k "vetitus," in Spelman.

^l Altered by Wilkins into "infirmetur."

^m So Wilkins: "rato," in Spelman.

ⁿ *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXV. 8.

^o "infidelem tempor. . .," in Spelman.

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ANCIENT LAWS OF IRELAND¹, CALLED SENCUS MOR, RELATING TO THE CHURCH.

[1. *Place, Time, and History of the Code.*]

Locc don laidse Teamuir, ocus
loc do Seanchus hi samrad ocus i
fogmur, ar a glainni [ocus ar-a-
haibne] is na haimseraib sin; ocus
Raith gut aird, in baili adta Lec
Patraic aniu, i nGlind na mbodur,
i fagus do Nith nemundach, a loc

The place of this Poem and the
place of the Sencus was Teamhair^a,
in the summer and in the autumn,
on account of its cleanness and plea-
santness during these seasons; and
Rath-guthaird^b, where the stone of
Patrick is at this day in Glenn-na-

¹ The *Sencus Mòr* is the code of the old Irish law, derived from Pagan times, but drawn into the form of a code, and modified so as to be in harmony with Christianity and to recognize the Christian Church, under the influence of Christian ecclesiastics. The date at which it was compiled, is affirmed by itself, and by the *IV. Mag.*, to have been that of S. Patrick; who with Benignus and Cairnech makes up the ecclesiastical trio of its nine alleged compilers. Irish scholars like Dr. O'Donovan assert the language of the code itself, apart from the Introduction and the Glosses, to be consistent with such a date. The place also at which it was in part drawn up, viz. Tara, which ceased to be a royal residence A.D. 565, indicates that it was at least commenced before (at latest) that year. On the other hand, the more than questionable Christianity of at least two of the Kings named as among its compilers,—the analogous case of Howel Dda's Laws, where the mere fact of a triple code (besides other difficulties) shews that the literal statement of its origin only approximates to the truth,—the great improbability that the influence and the territorial endowments of the Church could have been so great in Ireland at that early date,—and the general presumptions that lie against the literal truth of a legend of

such a character and period,—incline to the conclusion that the story in the Introduction contains only a nucleus of truth; and that Dr. Todd's is the soberer judgment, who holds it "not impossible that such a work may have been begun in the times of S. Patrick, but that the Sencus Mòr in its present form cannot be of so remote an age;" although he would date even the later portions (now, however, we suppose, inseparable from the rest) as not later than the 9th or 10th centuries. The 13th century appears to be the earliest date of any existing MS. The Irish, with a translation, of a portion of the code, was published at Dublin, vol. i. in 1865, vol. ii. in 1869, under the authority of a Royal Commission for the purpose, by Dr. W. Neilson Hancock, with the cooperation of Mr. O'Curry and Dr. O'Donovan until their deaths, and then of Professor Thaddeus O'Mahony; under the title of *Ancient Laws of Ireland—SENCUS MÒR*. Vol. I. *Introduction to Sencus Mòr, and ATHGABAIL, or Law of Distress, as contained in the Harleian MSS.*; and vol. II. *Law of Distress completed, Laws of Hostage-Sureties, Fosterage, Saer-Stock Tenure, Daer-Stock Tenure, and of Social Connexions*. Other volumes are to follow. The extracts here given are those portions only which refer to the Church.

a ngeimrid ocus a n-errać, ar gaire
leo a conad ocus a uisce, ocus ar
tesaideć i naimsir in geamfuaćta.

Ocus it inunda aimser doib, aim-
ser Laegaire mic Neil, Ríg Eirenn;
ocus Tetosius rob aird rig in domain
and in tan sin, ocus deismereć air-
side, ut dixit in filed—

“ Patraic ro baithuis go li,
“ In aimsir Tethosi,
“ Pritcuis soiscela cen meť,
“ Do tuait molfaig mac Miled.”

Ocus persa do Seancus lin per-
sannu in tSencusa, .i. :—

“ Laegairi, Corc, Dairi dur,
“ Patraic, Beneoin, Cairneach coir,
“ Rosa, Dubtać, Fergus co feib,
“ Naei sailgi sin tSencuis moir.”

Persa na laide imorro Dubthać Mac
ua Lugair, rig filed bfer nErend.

Tucait a denmu in tSencusa; Pa-
traig do toideć i nErind do silad
batuis ocus credme do Gaeideluib,
.i. is in nomad bliadain do flaitias
Tetosi, ocus is in cetramad bliadain
do flaitius Laegaire mic Neill, Ríg
Erenn.

mbodhur, near Nith nemonnach, was
the place during the winter and the
spring, on account of the nearness
of its fire-wood and its water, and
on account of its warmth in the time
of winter's cold.

And they were composed at the
same time—in the time of Laeghaire,
son of Niall, King of Erin; and
Theodosius was monarch of the
world at that time, and it was in
commemoration of this the poet
said :—

“ Patrick baptized with glory,
“ In the time of Theodosius,
“ He preached the Gospel without
failure
“ To the glorious people of Mi-
lidh's sons.”

And the authors of the Senchus
were the number of the persons of
the Senchus—viz.,

“ Laeghaire, Corc, Dairi the hardy,
“ Patrick, Benen, Cairnech the just,
“ Rossa, Dubhthach, Fergus with
science,
“ These were the nine pillars of
the Senchus Mor.”

But the author of the Poem was
Dubhthach Mac ua Lugair, royal
poet of the men of Erin.

The cause of the Senchus having
been composed was this :—Patrick
came to Erin to baptize and to dis-
seminate religion among the Gaei-
dhil, i. e., in the ninth year of the
reign of Theodosius, and in the
fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire,
son of Niall, King of Erin.

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

Íarsin mbreít sin tra ro forcongrad o Patraic for feraib Eirenn ar co tistais co haen maigin fri haentaid imac[a]lma do. Iar tiactain imurro doib don dail ro pritcad soscela Crist doib uili; agus ot cuas d'feraib Eirenn marbad na mbeo agus beougað na marb, agus uili comaceta Patraic, iar tiactain do i n-Eirinn; agus ot condcatar Laegaire cona druidib do sarugað tria firta agus mirbaile dermara i fiadnaisi fer n-Erend, rosleatsat for, ogreir De agus Patraic.

Is and asbert Laegaire: "Rictai a les, a firu Eirenn, suidiugað agus ordugað cach rechta lind [cid cenmoia in ni seo"]. "Is ferr a denam," ol Patraic. Is and sin tarrcomlad cae aes dana la hErind co tarfen cach a ceird fia Patraic, ar beilaib caea flaia la hErind.

Is and ro herbad do Dubthac tasfenad breitemnusa agus uile fili-decta Eirenn, agus nach rechta ro falnasat la firu Eirenn, i rect aicnid agus [a rect faidi] agus i mbretaib innsi Eirend agus i filedaib.

Toairngertatur do nicfad berla ban bias, i. rect litre; ar in Spirit naem ro labrastar agus do aircechain tria ginu na fer fireon cet rabatur i n-innis Eirenn, amail do n-aircechain tria ginu na [prim faidi] agus na n-uasal aitre, i rect petarlaice; a ro

After this sentence Patrick requested of the men of Erin to come to one place to hold a conference with him. When they came to the conference the Gospel of Christ was preached to them all; and when the men of Erin heard of the killing of the living and the resuscitation of the dead, and all the power of Patrick since his arrival in Erin; and when they saw Laegaire with his druids overcome by the great signs and miracles wrought in the presence of the men of Erin, they bowed down, in obedience to the will of God and Patrick.

Then Laegaire said—"It is necessary for you, O men of Erin, that every other law should be settled and arranged by us, as well as this." "It is better to do so," said Patrick. It was then that all the professors of the sciences in Erin were assembled, and each of them exhibited his art before Patrick, in the presence of every chief in Erin.

It was then Dubthach was ordered to exhibit the judgments and all the poetry of Erin, and every law which prevailed among the men of Erin, through the law of nature, and the law of the seers, and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets.

They had foretold that the bright word of blessing would come, i. e. the law of the letter; for it was the Holy Spirit that spoke and prophesied through the mouths of the just men who were formerly in the island of Erin, as he had prophesied through

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

siaçt reët aicnid mar nad rochat recht litri.

Ina breta fir aicnid tra din ro labairustar in Spirit naem tria ginu breitemon oculus filid fireoin fer n-Eirenn, o congabad in insi so co creitium anall, dos airfen Dubthaç uile do Patraic. Ni din nad taudcaid fri breitir nDe i reët litri oculus nu-fiadnaise, oculus fri cuibsen a cresion, conairged in ord breitemnaçta la Patraic oculus eclaisi oculus flaite Erenn; doneoch robba dir reët aicnid [uile] ingi creitium, oculus a coir oculus com-uaim n-Eclaisi fri tuait. Conide Senchus mar insen.

Nonbur tra do erglas do orduğad in liubairsi, .i. Patraic, oculus Beneoin, oculus Cairnech, tri Epscuib; Laegaire, oculus Corc, oculus Daire, .i. trí Rig; Rosa, .i. mac Triçim, oculus Dubthaç, .i. suí Berla, oculus Fergus, .i. filed.

Nofis, din, ainm in Liubairse ro ordaigset, .i. fis nonbur, oculus ata a desmereët rinn anuas.

Is i so tra in Cain Patraic, issed nad cumaic naç breitem daenna do Gaedelaib do taitbiuch nach ni fogeba i Senchus mor.

the mouths of the chief prophets and noble fathers in the patriarchal law; for the law of nature had prevailed where the written law did not reach.

Now the judgments of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of this island, down to *the reception* of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubhthach to Patrick. What did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics and the chieftains of Erin; for the law of nature had been quite right, except the faith, and its obligations and the harmony of the church and the people. And this is the Senchus Mor.

Nine persons were appointed to arrange this book, viz., Patrick, and Benen, and Cairnech, three Bishops; Laeghaire, and Corc, and Daire, three Kings; Rosa, i. e. Mac-Trechim, and Dubhthach, i. e. a doctor of the Bérla *Feini*^d, and Fergus, i. e. a poet.

Nofis, therefore, is the name of this book which they arranged, i. e. the knowledge of nine persons, and we have the proof of this above.

This is the Cain Patraic, and no human Brehon of the Gaedhil is able to abrogate anything that is found in the Senchus Mor.

[*Introduction, vol. I. pp. 2-19.*]

^a i. e. Tara.

^b Near the source of the Ardee (anciently

called the Nith), co. Louth.

^c Dubhthach's poem above-mentioned, and

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

its history, are given here in the original work. It recited the condemning to death of the murderer of Odhran, S. Patrick's charioteer.

^d i. e. of the dialect of the Feini, in which these laws were written.

[2. *Dire-fine equal for King and Bishop.*]

Is a Sencas Mar ro airled comdire do Rig ocus Epscop, ocus aige rechta litre, ocus suad filed forcan di cen-daib forosna, ocus do briugad dire-nar cetaib, oca mbi caire ansic co na thochus techta.

In the Senchus was established equal 'dire'-fine for a King, and a Bishop, and the head of the written law, and the chief poet who composes extemporaneously, and for the brewy, who is paid 'dire' for his hundreds, and who has the ever-full caldron and his lawful wealth^a.

[*Introduction, I. 40.*]

^a So also in dispensing hospitality, the haunch was reserved for "the King, Bishop, and literary doctor" (*Introd., I. 49*).

[3. *Tithes, First-fruits, Alms, Contracts.*]

Aatat a tri noda icat, dechmada, ocus primiti, ocus almsana, aragairet re cuairt duinebad, traethad cairde la Rig ocus tuaith, aragair tuarathlia cotha.

There are three things which are paid, *viz.*, tithes and first-fruits, and alms, which prevent the period of a plague, and the suspension of amity between a King and the country, and which also prevent the occurrence of a general war.

Astad caich in sochar ocus ina dochur argair bailiuth in betha.

The binding of all to *their* good and bad contracts prevents the lawlessness of the world.

Acht na cuic curu ata taithmechta la feine, cia ro nasatar: cor moga cen a flaith, cor manaig cen apaid, cor meic beoathar cen athair noca, cor druith no mire, cor mna sech a ceili.

Except the five contracts which are dissolved by the Feini, even though they be perfected: the contract of a labourer without his chief, the contract of a monk without his abbat, the contract of the son of a living father without the father, the contract of a fool or mad woman, the contract of a woman without her man.

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

Olcena atsuiter cuir` bel amail
adrodad Adum in derbdiubairt: at-
bath in bith uile ar aen uball.

In like manner are fixed the con-
tracts by word of mouth, as Adam
was condemned for his red fraud:
all the world died for the one apple.

[*Introduction, I. 50-52.*][4. *A stumbling Bishop to be degraded.*]

Atat ceitheora sabaid tuaite noda
desruithethar i mbecaib: Rig gubre-
tach, Epscop tuisledach, file diubar-
tach, aire eisindraic nad oiget a
mamú. Ní dleagaiter doib dire.

There are four dignitaries^a of a
territory who may be degraded: a
false-judging King, a stumbling Bi-
shop, a fraudulent poet, an unworthy
chieftain who does not fulfil his
duties. 'Dire'-fine is not due to
these.

[*Introduction, I. 54.*]

^a See also pp. 56, 57: "Inflicting wounds, or committing acts of treachery, upon bodies or persons, or fratricide, or secret murder, or refusing to entertain a company, or adultery, if it be committed by any one of an ecclesiastical grade, deprives such ecclesiastical orders of full honor-price at once until they pay 'eric'-fine, and do penance; and they all return to their former dignities except the Bishop, who does not return, but becomes a hermit; or, according to others, it is the virgin Bishop only who does not recover his grade or his perfection again; the Bishop of one wife does return, i.e.

when he performs penance within three days." And p. 61: "All men whose office did not compel them to frequent the Church, have a 'cumhal' for frequenting the Church. If a person of the six grades of the Church has done these deeds, he shall move to a higher grade, so as he does penance in proportion to the dignity of the grade, however insignificant the crime. . . . When they [the Brewys] have not increase of property to entitle them to recover their rank, they must do penance at their own Church," &c.

[5. *Value of Bishop's Testimony.*]

Ar forbrise Ri cach a fiadnaise,
ar is tualaing som forgell for cach
recht, acht a da comgrad d'inraicaib,
no sui, no Epscop, no deorad De.

The King excels all in testimony,
for he can, by his mere word, decide
against every class of persons ex-
cept those of the two orders of reli-
gion or learning who are of equal
rank with himself, as the doctor, or
the Bishop, or the pilgrim [exile of
God].

[*Athgabail, or Law of Distress, I. 78.*]

[6. *Furniture of a Church.*]

Is and ro airled etach fri lith, arm
fri nith, ech fri aige, dam fri h-ar,
bo fri blícht, mucc co nur, cauru
co lí; toichned Ri, biathad airec,
esbuid fledi, intreb n-ecalsa, &c.

It is in it (*the rule of one day's stay*)
were included *distresses for* raiment
for the festival day, weapons for the
battle, a horse for the race, an ox
for ploughing, a cow for milk, a pig
with fatness, a sheep with its fleece;
the withholding of his food-tribute
from a King, the food-tribute of a
chieftain, the deficiency of a feast,
the furniture of a church, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 122.*]

[7. *Relics—Churchyard.*]

Athgabail dechmaide im crichad
selba, im fuigell, im dirind uas cac,
im rodarc tunne [im set roderc] im
diubu nuire, &c.

Distress of ten days for the partition
of lands, for a relic, for the moun-
tain *land* high above all, for things
of value, seen on the sea, for valuable
articles, for digging a churchyard, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 200–202.*]

[8. *Advice of Church in making Laws.*]

Is cosse conamas athgabail huine,
ocus aile, ocus treisi, ocus cuicthe,
ocus dechmaide la Feni a comairleib
Eclaisi, a nnoisib tuai, a firechtaib
fíled, a comcettaidib flatha, a com-
airle breitheman, acht ní ima tor-
maig cubus ocus aicne a fírbrethaib
iar cubus.

Hitherto have been enumerated
the distresses of one day, and of two
days, and of three days, and of five
days, and of ten days, by the Feiní
by the advice of the Church, from
the customs of the laity, from the
true laws of the poets, from the con-
current opinions of the Kings, from
the advice of judges, except what
conscience and nature added from
true judgments according to analogy.

[*Law of Distress, I. 208, 209.*]

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. 1.]

[9. *Injuring Utensils of the Altar.*]

(This is included in a list of injuries for which a distress of three days is ordered. The cup and chalice are the utensils specified.)

[*Law of Distress, I. 233-235.*][10. *Exemption of Clerks from duty of interfering to prevent violence.*]

Bit sellaig slana and chena, .i. cleirig, oculus mna, oculus mec, oculus aes nad meisi gona na anacal na urgair, oculus eccuind oculus escunid.

There are also other lookers-on who are exempt, i.e. clerics, and women, and boys, and people who are not able to wound or protect or forbid, and imbeciles and incapables.

[*Law of Distress, I. 242, 243.*][11. *Why distress is fourfold.*]

Oculus ar ind hi it ceiteora selba bit for cach adgair oculus adgairter: selb fini atardai, oculus selb flaia oculus selb Ecalsa, oculus selb maithrai, no selb altrama; ro bi co comraicet huile for oen; rom bi imbet a di, no a tri, no nachae aenar nacha techta.

(Among other reasons) Because there are four who have an interest in every one who sues or is sued: the tribe of the father, the chief, the Church, the tribe of the mother, or the foster-father; it may be that they all may be in one; it may be that they may all be in two, or in three, or one alone may have an interest in him.

* * * * *

* * * * *

Oculus ar ind hi it ceithri rechta ro mesraigset ar bretemnacht: recht naicned, oculus recht fetarluig, [recht faide,] recht nudfiadnaise.

And because there are four laws which are brought to bear upon judicature: the law of nature, the patriarchal law, the prophetic law, the law of the New Testament.

[*Law of Distress, I. 260, 261.*][12. *Exemption for those who go to obtain the Communion for a Sick Person.*]

Dlomtar turbuid; a teisid annso: tubad sloig fo mendad; iarmoract cruid, no coibdena; no gabala, no

The occasions of exemption are here set down; these are they: the attack of a host upon the house;

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

cimidi, no fir muindtire consla i
n-ailitri, no coingi comna, no lega
do neoch biss fri bas, &c.

pursuit of cattle, or a party; or the
seizure *of cattle*, or a prisoner, or a
member of a tribe having gone on
a pilgrimage, or to obtain the com-
munion, or a physician for a person
on the point of death, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 266, 267.*]

[13. *Delay of Ten Days in distraining Cattle belonging to the Church.*]

Ni gaibter aigabail neime graid
flatha no Eculsa conar fastur doib
cu dechmuid.

The exempt cattle of the chieftain
grade or of the Church shall not be
distrained until a delay of ten days
has taken place.

[*Law of Distress, II. 48, 49.*]

[14. *Steward Bailiffs of Kings and Bishops.*]

Acht athuig forría bitís fri cinta o
Riguib.

Except steward-bailiffs which Kings
had to be accountable for their lia-
bilities.

[*Gloss.*] .I. acht na haíuig ro bitís
ac na Ríguib da foiritin re ic a cinuid,
for a toibged caé in fola cinuid no
in fola fiac roddlesta do na Rigaib, .i.
maoir no réctuire in R iat síde, uair
adetge lais in ugdur, aigabail do
gabail do na Riguib ocus do na
Hespocuib budém, cid troscud do
legdis ima fiachuib cuir ocus cun-
nurria, ocus im cinta coisi ocus
laimé. Is amluid ro bidis na Riga
ocus na Espuic i nallut, do rer na
narsanta, ocus athuig forría acuð da
fine budein, no doer cele ag in Ri,
no doer manuð ag in Espuc, ocus
cumað amluid sin do betís na graid
secta, ocus na graid ecalsa uile.
Ocus do daer ceilib flata no dia
ngelfine an athuig forría, ocus do
doermancuib eaculsa, no dia ngelfine

[*Gloss.*] That is, except the stewards
whom Kings used to have to relieve
them in paying for their liabilities,
and whom all sued for the liabilities
of crime or liabilities of contract due
from the Kings, i. e. these were the
stewards or agents of the King, for
the author *of this law* was loath to
take distress from the Kings or Bi-
shops themselves, though *the persons*
suing them fasted on them for their
liabilities of bargain and contract,
and their crimes of foot and hand.
The Kings and the Bishops in an-
cient times, according to the ancients,
had stewards of their own tribe, or
the King had a 'daer'-stock tenant,
or the Bishop a 'daer'-stock tenant
of ecclesiastical lands, and all the
septenary grades and all the eccle-

na hatuig forrta. No bitis ac tobuic doib gaic neic dligdis ocus a gabail atgabala uime, da risdais ales; ocus gaic cin ro acurta ar na Riguib cumad dibsim ro gabta atgabail uime. Da lecdis na Riga troscad ocus da ngabta atgabail do na Rigaiib tar fis in atuiig forta, is fiach indligid athgabala ann, ocus a da trian don cinn ocus aen trian don athuic forrta; no cumad don athuic forrta no betis in da trian; ocus gaic indligeid atgabala do gentur risin atuic, is fiach indligid athgabala do inn, ocus a da trian aice buden ocus a aen trian don Ri; no dono cumad a breit do aenur a ninbuid is de gabtur in atgabail; ocus in inbuid is don Rig no gebta i cuma fiach indligid atgabala do breit do aenur. Ocus gaic indligeid do dena in tathaic forrta fein um in atgabail is a ic do aenur; ocus da tecmad indligeid atgabala do denum don cinn, cumad e in tatuic forrta no icfud; ocus aitgin in gaic neic racus a lopud, ocus i corpfiaic daigabail in athuig forrta dic on cinn; no cuna ica etir ini na rachuid a lobad di.

siastical grades were similarly *provided*. Their (*the Kings*) steward-bailiffs were of the 'daer'-stock tenants of the chieftain or of the 'Geilfine'-tribe, and their (*the Bishops*) steward-bailiffs were of the 'daer'-stock tenants of ecclesiastical lands or of the 'Geilfine'-tribe with which the *Bishop's* church was connected. They used to levy for them everything that was due to them and take distress for it, if necessary; and for every liability for which the Kings were sued, it was from these that distress was taken. If the Kings had permitted fasting *to be performed* and if distress were taken from the Kings without the knowledge of the steward-bailiff, there is fine of illegal distress imposed for it, of which two thirds are due to the head *Kings*, and one third to the steward-bailiff; or *according to others* the two thirds were due to the steward-bailiff; and for every illegality of distress committed against the steward he shall be paid fine for it (*the illegal distress*), of which he himself shall possess two thirds and the King one third; or else he shall obtain all when it is from him the distress is taken; and when it is taken from the King, he alone shall get the fine for illegal distress. And as regards every illegality which the steward-bailiff shall commit respecting the distress, he alone shall pay for it; and should it happen that the head (*King or Bishop*) committed illegality of distress, the steward-bailiff shall pay for it, and make restitution for

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

everything that has gone into forfeiture, and the original debts of the steward-bailiff shall be paid by the head; or *according to others* the part of it which has become forfeited shall not be paid for at all ^a.

[*Law of Distress, II. 94, 95.*]

^a In Irish tenure of land, the chief supplied the stock, the occupier the labour. In Saer-stock tenure, which was the nobler of the two, the occupier gave no security; in Daer-

stock tenure, he did. See Dr. Hancock's *Pref.* to vol. ii. of the *Senchus Mór*, pp. xlvi. sq. 'Geillfine' was a tribe-relationship extending to the fifth degree (*Id. ib.* xlvi).

[15. *Distraint of Ecclesiastics.*]

[*Gloss.*] Aithgabail aesa ecolsa; troscad oculus apud iaram nad ngeba a paiter naé a credo oculus nad tet do sacarfaic oculus do aubairt. Mad aes graid no aes creidme * * im toig a cluicc no im cois a altoire, oculus apud na ro oiffrither fuirri, oculus nad mbentar cloc do trataib. Do airchindchaib oculus aesgraid inso. Ma atloat gaibter a sesci no a mblicta, mana tincatar.

[*Gloss.*] As to the distraint of ecclesiastics: fasting *is to take place* and afterwards notice *is to be given* that they say not their Lord's Prayer nor their Creed, and that they go not to the sacrifice nor to the offering. If they be persons in orders or religious persons, *let a 'gad'-tye be put* upon their bell-houses or at the foot of their altar, and a warning given that there shall be no offering made upon it, and that the bells for the hours shall not be rung. This refers to 'Airchinnechs' and persons in orders. If they abscond let their dry cows or their milch cows be seized, unless they tender justice.

* [*Law of Distress, II. 120, 121.*][16. *Distress of an Abbat upon his Tenant or Monk.*]

[*Gloss.*] A cumat apad ar a manaé; oculus athair ara mac; oculus fiir aru felmac.

[*Gloss.*] It is the same with *the distress of an abbat upon his tenant of ecclesiastical lands* [monk]; and of a father upon his son; and of a tutor upon his pupil.

[*Law of Distress, II. 128, 129.*]

[17. *Privileged Residence in which there is a Bishop.*]

[*Gloss.*] Ata dono forus dila cinta di aithgabail, .i. a fuirech i ndail imbi Ri, no Epscop, no sui, no uasal nemid sechip é; a fuirech i faichi cainte, no fir nad fuilngét gruaídi, ar ní daimside dligiuth itir do duine.

[*Gloss.*] There is, however, a residence which washes out the liability of a distress, i. e. to seize in an assembly in which there is a King, or a Bishop, or a professor, or a noble 'nemidh,' whoever he may be; to seize in the green of a satirist, or of a man who does not suffer 'gruaidhi,' for he vouchsafes no right whatever to a person.

[*Law of Distress, II. 128, 129.*]

[18. *Distinctions of Sundays and Festival-days.*]

Mac in uiriuch desa imurro, dath fo lét a eduíg cach lae, .i. foru brut no foru inur, ocus da etuch dathu uime dia domnuig; ocus itir a lom ocus inua do.

The son of the 'aire-desa' chief wears clothes of a different colour every day, i. e. his cloak or his tunic *is to be of a different colour every day*, and he is to wear clothes of two different colours on Sunday; and he is to have both old clothes and new clothes.

Mac in uiriuch tuis imurro, dath for eduíge uile; ocus da étuc dathu uime cach lae, itir a lom ocus a nua, ocus da educh dathu nuaid uime dia domnuig. Educh dathu cach lae aice, educh domnuig ocus etuch sollumuín, áct is ferr cach étuch araile dib.

The son of the 'aire-tuisi'-chief is to have all his clothes coloured; and is to wear clothes of two colours every day, both old and new, and to wear new clothes of two colours every Sunday. He is to have coloured clothes every day—clothes for Sunday and clothes for the festival, but each of them better than the other.

Mac in uiriuch aird imurro, da etuch data nua cach lae imeside, ocus da etuch dathu nuaid dia domnuig ocus i sollumuín, áct is ferr cach etuch araile.

The son of the 'aire-árd'-chief is to wear new clothes of two colours every day, and new clothes of two colours on Sunday and the festival day, but each of these clothes better than the other.

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

Mac in da airi forgill is tairi sic.

The sons of the two inferior 'aire-forgill'-chiefs, the same as the last mentioned.

Mac na nairiuch forgill is ferr, ocus mac na Ríg, etuch dathu nuaid doibside in cach aimsir, aét is fearr araile dib, ocus or ocus airget foruib uile.

The sons of the superior 'aire-forgill'-chiefs, and the sons of the Kings, are to have new coloured clothes at all times, but exceeding each other in quality (*the Sunday clothes better than the week-day clothes, and those for the festival better than those for Sunday, as already specified*), and all embroidered with gold and silver^a.

[*Law of Fosterage, II. 148, 149.*]

^a These are part of the duties of a foster-father. The epithets indicate the various grades of chieftainship.

[19. *Dissolution of Contracts.*]

Gach cor dib taithmither uile, is ar ain, no treise, no cethruimie taithmither. Aon fri taithmeç cor na ceile iar fis; ocus treise fri taithmech cor na mac saorlicie iar fis; ocus cuicte fri taithmeç cor na saormanac iar fis. Ma taithmeç imurro a ndiubarta nama, is inand ocus in re fri taithmenn in cenn a ndiubarta fadein, .i. co ceithre uaire fichet, ocus co dechmaid.

As to every contract of all these which is dissolved, it is in one day, or three days, or four days they are dissolved. One day for dissolving the contracts of the tenants after knowledge of them; and three days for dissolving the contracts of the emancipated sons after knowledge of them; and five days for dissolving the contracts of the 'saer'-stock tenants of ecclesiastical lands after knowledge of them. If their dishonest contracts only are dissolved, the time is the same as that in which the chief dissolves their own dishonest contracts, i. e. in twenty-four hours, and in ten days.

[*Law of Saer-Stock Tenure, II. 218, 219.*]

[20. *Social connexion between the Church and its Tenants of Ecclesiastical Lands.*]

[*Gloss.*] .i. is i lanamnacht uil itir in Eclais ocus a manchu, praicecht

[*Gloss.*] The social connexion which subsists between the Church^a

ocus oiffrenn, ocus imaind anma on Eclais da manchaib, ocus airtiu caé meic do forcetal, ocus caé manaig do coir aithrige; dechmada ocus primiti ocus almsana uaithaibsium disi, ocus lan log enaé in nertslainti, ocus trian log enaé fri bas; ocus breitheamnus, ocus imdenam, ocus fiadnaise don Eclais for a mancaib, itir saermanach ocus daermanaé, ocus for caé tuata uile cid saermanach he, muna raib Eclais aile, [Eclais is comuasal resi], aca testugud.

and its tenants of ecclesiastical lands is, preaching^b and offering,—and requiem for souls is due from the Church to its tenants of ecclesiastical lands, and the receiving of every son for instruction, and of every *such* tenant to right repentance; tithes, and first fruits, and alms, are due of them to her, and full honor-price when they are in strong health, and one-third honor-price at the time of death^c; and the Church has *the power of pronouncing* judgment, and proof, and witness, upon its tenants of ecclesiastical lands, both 'saer'-stock tenants and 'daer'-stock tenants, and upon every other layman, even though he be a 'saer'-stock tenant of ecclesiastical lands, unless there is another Church of equal dignity claiming him.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 344-347.*]

■ The Church, ('eclais'), i. e. 'ecan clas,' the assembly of wisdom; or 'eclas,' i. e. 'iclas,' because the Church supplies every one with what he requires; or 'eclas,' i. e. 'uag clas,' pure assembly, the Church is an assembly which is purer than all others; or eclas, i. e. 'ecen leas,' by which one's welfare is effected, when he is in difficulty; or 'eclas,' from the Greek *ecclesia iusti populati*, i. e. the assembly of the just. 'With her tenants of ecclesiastical lands'

('manchu'), i. e. with the people who give it (*the Church*) valuable ('somainacha') goods ('maine'), after a proper way, ('cae'), or manner. (*Law of Soc. Con., II. 345.*)

^b Another MS. adds, "Baptism and communion, and requiem of souls."

^c The same MS. adds, "And every first calf, and every first lamb, and every first-born of children, and every tenth child from that out."

[21. *Restitution for Illegal Taking of Church Property.*]

Asrenar aithguin cach dichmaire cairichther co troscad, acht in Eclais.

Restitution is paid for every illegal taking with which they are charged by fasting, except *when* the Church is concerned.

[*Gloss.*] Co troscad, i. co na dern-tar troscad ime ac iarraid a aithgena iar na gabail; is ann ata aithgin do tuata ann muna troiscter. Acht in

[*Gloss.*] Fasting^a, i. e. when fasting is not performed in seeking its restitution after it has been taken; restitution is *not* paid to a layman unless

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

Eclais, .i. aēt mainib o eclaisdacda berair he, is ann ata aithgin and ria troscad, uair isse cuit in in aētnaigie a bail ata aithgin laēta no gnimraid don tuait ann, biaid a diablad do Ecluis. Aithgin olcena, .i. aithgin uile ēena in cach ni berair o neoch cen athcomarc is in nerrach co na torrachtain ina uide icce coir, .i. cenmota Eclais.

the fasting is performed. Except *when* the Church is concerned, i. e. unless it (*the property*) has been taken from an ecclesiastic: if it has, there shall be restitution before fasting, for the force of the “except” is *that* where there is restitution of milk or work to a layman, there shall be double *restitution* to the Church. Restitution is also *paid*, i. e. restitution is likewise *paid* for everything which is taken away from one without asking permission, i. e. for the forced relief or loan which is to be forthcoming in its proper time of payment, i. e. except *when* the Church is concerned.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 352, 353.*]

^a For the custom of fasting in connexion with distraint, see Dr. Hancock's *Pref.* to *Senchus Mor*, vol. i. pp. xlviii. sq.

[22. *Duty of the Church on account of Land, &c.*]

[*Gloss.*] Rath tarairrdig tabuirt in cele don ni teit a nairim caē forcruid nairbid. Tabuirt na Ecluisi, biathad in aen cineda gin fine, gin tir, gin inilled¹, ocus cach mic ocus gach manuig. Ocus tabuirt manuig, .i. .x. 7rl.

[*Gloss.*] The excessive return for the stock is the implied duty of the tenant out of that which goes to the account of each excess of measure. The implied duty of the Church is the feeding of the last survivor without a tribe, without land, without cattle, and of every son *left destitute*, and of every tenant of ecclesiastical lands. And the implied duty of a tenant of ecclesiastical lands, i. e. the tenth, &c.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 354, 355.*][23. *Restitution of Eric-fine and of Penance.*]

Aithgin neirci ocus aithgin peine do Eclais ria troscud; aithgin ocus dire ocus enecclann iar troscad, ocus

Restitution of ‘eric’-fine and restitution of penance *are to be paid* to the Church before fasting; restitu-

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

a log do pennait in díchmaire in sein. Aithgin do caé cena ina díchmaire ria troscud; aithgin imorru ocus dire ocus eneclann in taide, ocus in elguin ria troscud, issed dno in díchmaire iar troscad. Cia troisc-ther imorru imon taide ocus imin elguin, ni icíar diablad do neoch ro raidsem, co ro cinne breithium. Issed a trocar; a etrocar imorru diablad neich dlegar ria troscad do ic iar troscad i taide ocus i nelgum. Ise fein atai im in díchmaire, naé aili imorru innis in taide.

tion, and 'dire'-fine, and honor-price after fasting, and the amount for the illegal taking are paid in penance. Restitution *is due* to every one in general for illegal seizure before fasting; but restitution, and 'dire'-fine, and honor-price *are due* for theft, and for illegal seizure before fasting, and these *penalties* are for illegal taking after fasting. But even though fasting be performed in cases of theft and forcible seizure, double shall not be paid for anything we have mentioned, until the Brehon decides it. That is the leniency of the case; but the severity is that the double of the thing due before fasting is to be paid after fasting for theft and forcible seizure. He (*the plaintiff*) himself is *the witness* of the illegal taking, but another person tells of the theft.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 354-357.*][24. *Contracts for the Gathering for the Festivals.*]

Ni bi cor cor nechtar da lina sech araile, inge curu lesaigter a cumtus; iteside inso comul comuir fri coibne techta in tan nad bi occaib fadesin comobair trebta do luad; fochraic tire; tinol cua; comull sollaman.

The contract made by either party is not a *lawful* contract without *the consent* of the other, except in case of contracts tending equally to the welfare of both; such as the alliance of co-tillage with a lawful tribe when they (*the couple*) have not the means themselves of doing the work of ploughing; the taking of land; the collecting of food; the gathering for the festivals^a.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 356-359.*]

^a Gathering for the festivals, i. e. gathering of food for consumption at the festivals, i. e. at Easter and Christmas. (*Law of Soc. Con., II., pp. 358, 359.*)

APPENDIX C.

HYMN OF S. FIACC^a.

1. Genair Patraicc innemthur, ised atfet hiscelaib :
Maccan sembliadan deac intan dobreth fodéraib.
3. Succat aainm itubrad ; cedaathair bafissi ;
Macc Alpuirn, maic Otide, hoa deochain Odissi.
5. Báí se bliadna ifoguam, maisse dóine nistoi­mled,
batarile cothraige cethartrebe diafognad.
7. Asbert Uictor frigni­ad mil contessed fortonna :
forruib achois forsindleice marait aes nibronna.
9. Dofaid tarelpa, huile de mair baamru retha,
conidfarggaib lagerman andes indeisciurt leth­a.
11. Ininnsib mara torrian ainis, innib adrími ;
legais canoin lagerman, ised adfiadat líni.
13. Dochum nerenn dodfetis aingil de hifithisi :
menicc atchithi hifísib dosnicfed arithisi.
15. Robochobair donderinn tichtu Patraicc, forochlad :
roclos cian son agarma macraide caille fochlad.
17. Gadatar cotíssad innoeb aranimthised lethu,
aratintarrad ochlóen tuatha herenn dobethu.
19. Tuatha herenn tairchantais dosnicfed sithlaith nua,
meraid code aiartaige bedfás tír temrach tua.
21. Adruid friloegaire tichtu Phatraicc nicheilltis ;
roírad ind[f]átsine innaflatha asbeirtis.
23. Baleir Patraicc combeba ; basab indarba clóene :
ised tuargaib aeua suas de sechtreba dóine.
25. Ymmuin ocus abcolips, natricoicat noscanad ;
pridchad baitsed arniged demolad dé nianad.

HYMN OF S. FIACC.

1. Patrick was born in Nemthur ; it is this that has been declared in
histories :
a child of sixteen years, when he was brought under tears.
3. Succat his name it was said ; who was his father is to be known :
son of Calpurn, son of Potitus, grandson of deacon Odisse.
5. He was six years in slavery ; men's food he ate it not :
many were they—four tribes, whom Cothraige^b served.
7. Victor^c said to Mil's^d slave that he should go over the waves :
he pressed his foot on the stone : its trace abides : it wears not away.
9. He went across all the Alps—Great God ! it was a marvel of a journey !
until he staid with German in the south, in the south part of Latium.
11. In the isles of the Tyrrhene sea he remained, therein he meditated :
he read the canon with German : it is this that writings declare.
13. To Ireland God's angels were bringing him in his course :
often was it seen in visions that he would come thither again.
15. It was a help to Ireland the coming of Patrick, who was called :
afar was heard the sound of the cry of the children of the wood of
Fochled^e.
17. They prayed that the saint would come, that he would journey with
them,
that he would turn the peoples of Ireland from Evil to Life.
19. The peoples of Ireland were prophesying that a new Prince of Peace
would come to them,
That his successors would abide to the day of Doom, that Tara's land
would be waste and silent.
21. His druids concealed not from Loegaire Patrick's coming ;
The prophecy of the Prince whereof they spake, was verified.
23. Pious was Patrick till he died ; he was a strong expeller of evil.
it is this that raised his goodness upwards . . . (?) beyond men's tribes.
25. Hymns and Apocalypse, the three fifties, he used to sing them ;
he preached, baptized, prayed, from God's praise rested not.

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

27. Nicongebed`uacht sini dofeiss aidche hilinnib :
fornim consena aríge ; pridchaiss fride indinnib.
29. Islán, tuaith benna bairche, nisgaibed tart nalia :
canaid cétsalm cechnaidchi ; doríg aingel fogniad.
31. Foaid forleice luim iarum, oculusilche fliuch imbi ;
bacoirthe afrithadart ; nileicc achorp hitimmi.
33. Pridchad soscéla docách ; dogníth mórferta illethu :
ícecaid luscú latruscu, mairb dosfiuscad dobethu.
35. Patraic pridchais doscotaib ; rochés mór seth illethu,
immi contíssat dobrath incach dosfuc dobethu.
37. Meicc Emir, meicc Erimon, lotar huili lacisal :
fosrolaic intarmchosal isinmorchute nísle.
39. Condathanic intapstal ; dofaith gith gáithe déne :
pridchais trifichte bliadan croich Crist dothuataib Fene.
41. Fortuaith Herenn bai temel ; tuatha adortais síde f ;
nicreitset infírdeacht innatrínóite fíre.
43. In Ard-macha fil ríge ; iscian doreracht Emain :
iscell mór Dún Lethglasse ; nimdil ceddithrub Temair.
45. Patraicc diambai illobra adcobra dul do Máchi :
doluid aingel arachenn forset immedon láthi.
47. Dofaith fades couictor ; bahe aridralastar :
lassais inmuine imbai asinten adgladastar.
49. Asbert, "Orddan doMachi : doCrist atlaigthe buide :
dochumnime mosrega : roratha duit dugude.
51. Ymmon dorroega itbiu, bídlúrech díten docách :
immut illaithiu inmessa regat fir Herenn dobrath."
53. Anais Tassachⁱ diaés intan dobert comman dó :
asbert, monicfed Patraicc briathar Tassaig nirbugo.
55. Samaiges crich friaidchi arnacaite les occai :
cocenn bliadne bai soillse, bahé sithlaithe fotai.
57. Incath fechta imBethron frituaith Cannan lamac Nuin,
assoith ingrian frigabon, issed adfeit littri dúinn.
59. Huair assoith laHésu ingrian fribás innacleón,
ciasuthrebrech bahuisse soillsi friéitsecht nanóeb.

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

27. The cold of the weather kept him not from spending night in linns :
in heaven he won his kingdom ; he preached by day on hills.
29. In Slan^f in the territory of Benn-Boirche neither thirst nor hunger
possessed him :
he sang a hundred Psalms every night : he served the angels' King.
31. He slept on a bare stone then ; and a wet robe around him :
a pillar-stone was his pillow ; he left not his body in warmth.
33. He preached the Gospel to every one ; he wrought great marvels
widely :
he healed the halt with the lepers, the dead he raised them to life.
35. Patrick preached to the Scots ; he suffered great pain widely,
that around him might come to Judgment every one whom he brought
to Life.
37. Emer's sons, Eremon's sons, all went to Hell :
the transgression cast (?) them into the great low pit.
39. Until the Apostle came to them : he went the wending of a swift wind :
he preached for three score years Christ's cross to the pagans of the Féni.
41. On Ireland's people was darkness : the peoples adored earthly gods^g ;
they believed not the true Godhead of the true Trinity.
43. In Armagh is a Kingdom ; it is long since Emain passed away :
Dun Lethglasce is a great Church ; not pleasant to me though Tara be
desert.
45. Patrick, when he was in sickness, desired to go to Armagh :
an angel went to meet him on the road in the middle of the day.
47. He went south to Victor ; he it was that met him :
the bush wherein he (Victor) was flamed ; from the fire he exclaimed.
49. He said, " Primacy at Armagh ; to Christ offer thanks :
to heaven thou wilt soon come : thy prayers have been granted to thee.
51. The Hymn thou chosest in thy life, shall be a corslet of protection to
every one^h :
around thee on the day of Doom the men of Ireland will come for
Judgment."
53. Tassachⁱ remained after him when he had given the communion to him :
he said, that Patrick would soon come ; Tassach's word was not false.
55. He put an end to night, for light was not consumed with him :
to a year's end was radiance, this was a long peace-day.
57. At the battle fought on Bethron against Canaan's people by the son
of Nun,
the sun rested at Gibeon, that is what histories tell us.
59. Since the sun rested with Joshua at the death of the wicked,
though it was fitting, meeter were radiance at the death of the saints :

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

61. Clerich Herenn dollotar dairi Patraicc ascechsét :
son incetail fosrolaich contuil cach úadib forsét.
63. Anim Patraic friachorp, isiarsethaib roscarad,
Aingil Dé ícétaidchi aridfetis cenanad.
65. Intan conhualai Patraic, adella in Patraic naile ;
ismalle connubcabsat dochum nísu Meicc Maire.
67. Patraic cen airde núabar bamór domaith romenair,
beith ingéillius Meicc Maire ; basén gaire ingenair.

Genáir Patraicc.

■ This hymn was composed after the date when Tara ceased to be a royal residence, and therefore not earlier than the latter part of the 6th century. Consequently it was not the composition of Fiacc of Sletty, as it is affirmed to be in the Preface to it in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*. It was also, obviously, written in the interest of the Armagh claim to primacy. It is given here as the earliest do-

cument relating to S. Patrick's life, besides his own Confession and Letter. These last-named documents negative in effect both the alleged regular training of S. Patrick under S. Germanus, and his mission by the Pope. The Fiacc Hymn was written after the former legend had come into existence, but before anything had been heard of the latter. It is printed here from Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 126-

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

61. Ireland's clerics went to watch Patrick from every road :
the sound of the chant covered them, so that each of them slept on the
road.
63. Patrick's soul from his body, it is after pains it was separated,
God's angels on the first night were singing it without ceasing.
65. When Patrick went, he visited the other Patrick ;
it is together they ascended to Jesus, Mary's Son.
67. Patrick without loftiness or arrogance, it was much of good he thought.
He was in the friendship of Mary's Son : happy was the fate to which
he was born.

[Patrick was born.]

312, 2nd edit., and with his translation. Colgan first printed it, and from him O'Connor. And it is also in Part II. of Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 287-289. The original is in the MS. *Lib. Hymn.* at Dublin.

^b A name for Patrick, = Cothírthiacus, in Book of Armagh (Stokes).

^c The name given to the angel "Scotticæ Gentis" (Stokes).

^d = Milchun, Patrick's master.

^e See above, p. 303, note p.

^f The river Slany near Saul, co. Down.

^g side = deos terrenos (Stokes).

^h St. Sechnall's Hymn, acc. to Stokes. But the allusion rather seems to be to S. Patrick's own *Lorica*.

ⁱ Bishop of Ráith cholptha, now Raholp, near Down (Stokes).

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3v. in 4 ; 26cm.

"Based upon the Concilia Magnae Britanniae et
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largement of Spelman and Dugdale's Concilia, de-
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(Continued on next card)

